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THIS IS OUR STRENGTH

by VERNON BARTLETT

ADOLPH HITLER receives few expressions of admiration from the British and deserves less. But in one respect, at any rate, we should be thankful to him—he has succeeded in jerking us out of the deep ruts on the road towards complacency and decay. His conquest of France will compel us, for example, to alter most of our conceptions of political geography.

We in Great Britain have long been accustomed to think of ourselves first as Europeans and only secondly as citizens of an Empire with territories in every continent. Benumbed by blow after blow, we are left with the conviction that we are now a small and lonely island of liberal thought on the outskirts of a Continent dominated by National Socialism. We still utter phrases of defiance and feel rather proud of ourselves for doing so. But this conception of our rôle, if somewhat heroic, is also somewhat misleading.

We are not the last remnant of liberal thought; on the contrary, we are the bridge-head of that thought and we have behind us vast millions of

people in America, Australia, Africa and Asia who share our conceptions of individual rights and freedoms. No man who defends a bridgehead in enemy territory has an easy time of it, and in our case we are divided from our mainland not by a mere ribbon of a river but by a mighty stretch of ocean. Quite possibly, you who read these pages will be reading them in some air-raid shelter because *World Review* was the handiest bit of reading that you found when the alarm went. One cannot exaggerate the discomforts and the danger that may lie ahead and one has no standard upon which to estimate them.

But let us, at any rate, do away with the idea that we stand alone. There are in the many territories that have come under Hitler's heel millions who would look upon our victory as their victory, but we dare not hope for much help from them even when the structure of the Nazi regime begins to crack and crumble. For it is now an established part of Hitler's technique to destroy all the potential leaders of the countries he takes under his "protection," as well as to starve the wish to revolt out of the masses. But we have a heartening amount of support from states across the seas. Their increasing desire to share our burden should be a great source of strength in these anxious weeks before their war materials are at our disposal.

A few months ago there was danger of disturbances in India, such as we had not known for years; the Union of South Africa had only come into the war by a small parliamentary majority; Hitler and Mussolini were confidently predicting every kind of uprising amongst the Arabs, the Jews and many of the other races that are governed by Whitehall. But the Empire which was to disintegrate is now magnificently united. We in London have been dangerously and disgracefully slow to appreciate the problems of British subjects in distant Continents. And our gratitude to them now should be all the greater as also our determination to meet their demands—if we claim to fight for Democracy the least we can do is to be democrats in our own Commonwealth.

The United States, starting

with a dislike of the Nazis but a suspicion that every Englishman wanted to involve Americans in war and every German wanted to keep them out of it, has shown within the last few weeks a degree of solidarity which wins not only our

"St. Louis Post-Dispatch," U.S.A.

LESSON FOR AMERICA

It takes machines to fight machines.

gratitude but still more our satisfaction that the ideals in which we believe are so widely held. We who have to defend this bridgehead of civilisation called Britain have the certain knowledge that, can we but hold out, irresistible reinforcements will come our way.

But can we hold out? It would be deceitful and foolish to under-estimate the odds against us. To all intents and purposes the coastline of Western Europe from the Arctic to the Adriatic Sea is at the disposal of our enemies. Those of us who attacked the British Government's complacent and hypocritical policy during the Spanish civil war, because we feared that a Franco victory would enable Hitler to base his submarines on Spanish ports, were right to be alarmed. But how much greater must our alarm now be when Norway with its deep protective fjords, Holland and Belgium with their air-fields, and France with its ports in such proximity to ours, must obey Nazi commands. The iron ore of Lorraine now goes into the manufacture of German tanks and guns. The great food supplies of France can be diverted to fill Nazi stomachs. The imperative demand for oil cannot be met as a result of these conquests and the destruction of the mechanised German army must have been very great indeed, but Mussolini and the other international jackals slink hopefully along, not behind Churchill but behind Hitler.

In such a war as this only stubborn will power can overcome the superior striking force of the machine. The obvious weaknesses of the Democratic system allowed that superiority to be reached by the Nazis; we have now to see whether the spiritual strength that we believe should come to us from our respect for justice and freedom can provide the necessary compensation. If we were to be defeated it would be, I believe, because our system had become outworn; because mankind was taking a fresh stride along the path of progress. It would not be that complete and utter defeat, that collapse of civilisation, which so many expect, for neither the German nor any other people would fight with such vigour if it had no ideals to inspire it. A National Socialist conquest of

the world would involve during the next few years more widespread misery than any other event in history. But the very fact that it conquered would, I believe, show that the ideal behind it was more in keeping with the scientific and other developments of the moment than the ideal behind Democracy.

As far as I am concerned, the victory of National Socialism would be a great defeat and disaster, for there is no room in a National Socialist world for kindliness and humour. But I should feel that I had no cause to complain—the defeat of Democracy would be due only to the failure of Democrats to support with sufficient faith their own way of living. It is because I cannot believe that Democracy has ceased to be a great and good force that I remain an optimist.

OUR LATTER DAY NEROS

Mr. W. G. Hall (Colne Valley, Lab.).—Will the right hon. gentleman remember that this afternoon there are 30,000 to 40,000 people attending dog-racing meetings, at a time when Paris is fighting for its very life?

Mrs. Tate (Frome, U.) said that yesterday there were slates in Oxford Street on which were chalked "Derby Betting," and beside them others "Paris a Besieged City," and asked if this did not offend against public decency. (Cheers.)

Earl Winterton (Horsham and Worthing, U.) said that thousands of motor-cars were parked at the Derby.

Sir J. Anderson.—I recognise the strength of feeling on this matter. (Hear, hear.) On the other hand, as I indicated on May 30th, it is necessary to give consideration to the forms of relaxation available to the workers. (Hear, hear.) In this matter I have been acting in close consultation with the Minister of Labour, and I propose to continue to do so.—*Report of House of Commons proceedings, June 13th,* 1940.

A PEOPLE'S ARMY

The Example of Spain

by DAVID WOODWARD

The writer of this appeal for a citizen army is a well-known foreign correspondent

THE tragic end of the Battle for France has left Britain face to face with the problem of extemporising an army to defend the country against an invasion from the sea or the sky. In Britain at the present time there are about 1,250,000 men reasonably well trained—according to the Prime Minister—nearly another million partially trained and yet a third million registered but who have not yet begun the most important stages of their training. The force which the Germans might be able to throw into this country would not obviously equal more than a tenth of that total at the highest estimate—if the British resistance be properly organised.

On the other hand the very nature of the German attack is such that the British forces cannot be concentrated in the old fashioned sense, to meet it. The Germans may strike at any point, and the British must be ready at any point to meet them. Apart from the forces needed to ensure such readiness—a readiness which means guarding every vital point in the Kingdom, there must be a field force to mop up the attackers if they are able to concentrate in sufficiently large numbers after landing. For all this, quite apart from the other tasks which may devolve upon the British army as the only intact Allied force at present in existence, it is clear that the number of troops at present with the colours will not suffice. Large numbers of men must be called up at once and trained within the shortest possible space of time.

"The shortest space of time" does not mean the nine months or the six months usually recognised as the minimum period necessary to train an

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infantry private. It means about two weeks. Perhaps by the time this article appears in print the invasion of Britain will have begun; perhaps it will be delayed a few more weeks as Hitler gets his second wind.

In any case the time for training these men must be expressed in days and weeks rather than in months or years.

Nor is the problem purely a British one. It will arise inevitably within the next few months in every democracy where the citizens are not all given military training as a matter of course. In the nature of things the United States and the South American republics will all be faced with it soon.

The first reaction of an expert, in any country to a suggestion such as this, is that a controlled *levée en masse* of the sort proposed would be worse than useless: it would be pointed out that troops with only limited training would be useless against Hitler's well trained and well equipped forces. But this argument may be challenged first on the ground that the troops arriving in this country by aircraft as the spear head of an invasion would be without the most important and heaviest part of their equipment. If these advanced forces could be rapidly destroyed the fate of the whole invasion would be settled.

What is even more important, however, is the fact that there is not the slightest use anyone in our position at present saying that we prefer trained troops to semi-trained troops; for our purpose we are only going to have semi-trained troops available, and we must make the best of the fact.

That the best can be very good indeed is shown by experiences elsewhere during the past few years of the use of soldiers who have had training for only a very short time. The outstanding example is of course that of the Spanish Republican forces, in which soldiers were sent into action after, sometimes, having received as little as ten days' intensive training. A large proportion of them certainly received no more than five or six weeks instruction. Probably half the effectives of the German army entered the present struggle with only eight weeks drill behind them. They picked up the rest as they went along

and many of them are known to have been used in Poland.

While the German and Spanish examples show that "raw" troops can be used with conspicuous success under favourable circumstances, other lessons from this war show that under other conditions raw or comparatively raw troops can deserve all the criticism which is generally showered on them by conservative military experts.

An outstanding example of that was the fate of the Dutch army, which had been for generations a purely militia force, which had hine months with the colours steadily after the outbreak of the war but which failed entirely to cope with the German onrush. It is true that it had no modern weapons but neither had the Republican Spaniards; it is true that the German offensive was of more intense nature than any of Franco's but the difference was not so great—a glance at the accounts of the Italian raids on Barcelona and Madrid will show that—as to account for the difference in the showing of the Dutch and Spanish forces. What did make the difference, almost indubitably, was the difference in the leadership of the two armies. The Dutch army officers were essentially drawn from a professional class, nurtured in terms of pre-1914 warfare, fervent admirers of all things German, and convinced of the overwhelming strength of the German army. Therefore they were beaten or believed themselves beaten before battle was joined. The commanders of the Spanish units were reared to no tradition, and made a great one—the principal lesson of all this being that it is not necessary to pay too much attention to professional soldiers when building a new army.

But the formation of a new army of the emergency type which is made necessary by the circumstances cannot simply be a question of calling upon one million or two million men, giving them what rifles are available, teaching them the new drill in threes and letting it go at that.

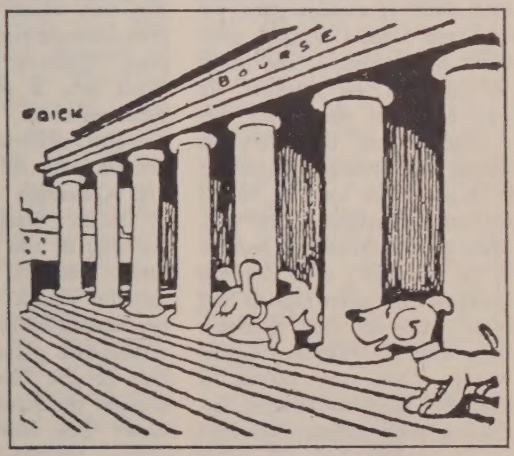
The most urgent task, once the men have been collected and armed, will be to sort them out according to their various qualifications. Obviously, as far as possible, men should be

posted in the parts of their country with which they are best acquainted.

Obviously, too, there must be a difference in the part played by young men, probably below military age, and the old men in such a body who are far beyond military age, and probably far beyond such essential manœuvres as stalking a landed parachutist until such time as he could be rounded up, but who would be, nevertheless, capable of holding some hillside strong point behind which forces could be concentrated.

Beyond such elementary measures there is very little that can be done with the time available save—and this is the vital point—to give the men an idea of the new war they are to fight. It won't be a war of forming fours and threes—it won't be a war of companies and battalions. It will be a war in which a handful of men may find it their duty to check the whole of the enemy's invasion, in which the leader of a section of half a dozen men may find himself required without warning to show the resource and skill of a good general. Spain showed that ordinary men chosen by fate or by their leaders can do such things.

"At last here's someone taking action against the Fifth Column."



"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

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NORWAY—THE WHOLE STORY

by A NORWEGIAN CORRESPONDENT

On the morning of April the 9th German troops occupied Oslo and five others of the most important seaports. The events came as such a surprise to the world that many people, especially abroad, thought they were caused by a gigantic conspiracy of the "Fifth Column." This was a misapprehension. Norway was badly prepared for war, both militarily and politically. As the war went on and and inter-belligerent reprisals followed each other at a quick pace, we expected from Germany protests, ultimatums, at the worst air raids on our seaports. It was, however, something like a dogma that the Germans would not attempt a landing in Norway as long as Great Britain was master of the seas. Most people refused to believe in the possibility of a German invasion even after reports had been received that German ships were on their way northwards. Our sole excuse is that the Western Powers, including their military attachés in Oslo, obviously were as astonished as we were ourselves.

Nazism has never had political influence in Norway. There were certain abortive attempts at a Fascist movement during the worst years of economic depression, but the Nazi party (the National Union) suffered a crushing defeat at the elections in 1936, and later on it was split up into several impotent fractions. Quisling was the leader of a tiny sect which got their support amongst cranks and school boys. Quisling appointed, on April 9th, a government of eight members. Four of them publicly disclaimed all connection with this government, and Quisling's own Minister of Defence fought bravely on the side of the legal Government. Besides, the German surprise attack could not be executed according to the pre-established plans. The intention of the Germans was to capture the King and Government. The Norwegian Navy,

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although badly equipped and numbering only a few ships, together with the coastal batteries, sent about 50,000 tons of the German navy to the bottom, apart from transports. A battle cruiser and a heavy cruiser were sunk in the Oslo-fjord, a fact which caused the capture of Oslo to be delayed for several hours. The King, the Government and the Storting managed to escape. During the first forty-eight hours an awful confusion was prevailing. The Germans had taken Oslo Radio and were constantly broadcasting declarations to the effect that mobilisation had been cancelled as well as reports that the Government had resigned or had capitulated, etc. The King and the Government were pursued from one place to another, and not until Thursday morning was it made known over local broadcasting stations that the Government were going to resist the German invaders. The Germans had occupied the headquarters of five of the six Norwegian divisions and had seized the most important military depôts; and it was very difficult to establish appropriate communications between the various parts of the country. Most officers had had little training. Many were elderly men who for several years had led the life of peaceful civilians, with the result that they had no idea of what a modern war means. They were incapable of acting on their own initiative in situations involving grave responsibility; small wonder that some of them lost their heads. Real treachery has, as far as is known, only taken place in very few cases. The real "Fifth Columnists" were members of the German colony in Norway and of the numerous trade missions who now, all of a sudden, turned up in uniform—in certain cases Norwegian uniform—and proved to be abundantly equipped with automatic pistols and hand grenades. In several ports, such as Bergen, Thamshavn and Narvik, German troop ships were lying, camouflaged as merchant vessels, even as neutral ships. The campaign had been planned several months in advance.

How could, under such circumstances, a military resistance be organised at all in

Norway? That it was organised was first of all due to the strength of general feelings of the people. At the news that the Government had decided to fight, the whole nation was filled with patriotic enthusiasm. Wherever I came during the campaign, in the forest hamlets of Trysil, in the mountain valleys of Dovre, in the fjords of Möre, and in Northern Norway, the youth called for arms in order to defend the country. Everywhere, also, the same difficulties were encountered: lack of arms and of trained officers. Just because the organisation of the national services to a large extent had collapsed, the campaign in Norway was particularly full of dramatic incidents. In one country district an author and a sculptor, both of whom twenty years ago had served in The Royal Guards, organised a fighting unit of young farmers. A sixty years old member of the staff of the Public Widows Pensions Fund, who in his younger days had been a reserve officer, gathered a force of some 200 men and checked the advance of superior enemy forces until he himself was killed in action. Numerous young skiers escaped from Oslo to fight in the woods, and even by the end of May guerilla warfare was waged within the German occupied area. Farmers fired at the bombers with their sporting guns; in a couple of known cases the pilot was hit and the plane crashed to the ground. Many officers fought with great gallantry. This applies particularly to young 2nd lieutenants, and many are the stories told of how they displaced incompetent senior officers and took over the command themselves. The Norwegian Commander-in-Chief, General Otto Ruge, who unfortunately took over his post only after the outbreak of the hostilities, was a brilliant commander. A highly gifted personality, he would under other circumstances have achieved military fame. His plan was first to delay the enemy in the valleys of Southern Norway till assistance from the Allies could arrive there; secondly to recapture Trondheim by a combined attack from the South and the North. Thus the Allies would have secured the air bases they so badly needed. The moment

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the Germans had got a firm foothold in Southern Norway, Trondheim, not Narvik, was the vital strategic point.

The Norwegian troops which for a large part consisted of improvised units, fought in our southern valleys for three weeks. They had the advantage of good, natural positions; but they had practically no artillery, and no anti-aircraft defences; they soon became inferior in numbers.

The Allied Governments had promised to assist Norway, and assistance arrived. We in Norway have been somewhat at a loss to understand why the intervention of the Allies was not more energetic during the days immediately following April 9th, while the Germans had not yet been able to fortify their position. Oslo as well as Bergen and Trondheim could then probably have been recaptured at comparatively small costs, and it is quite certain that Narvik could have been taken on April 13th, after the British Navy had sunk the German destroyers in the harbour. The German invasion of Norway was, however, a great surprise to our allies as well as to ourselves, and the first British and French troops did not arrive until April 17th. At that date it had become clear that the British Navy could not maintain a complete blockade of the Oslo fjord; the Germans continually received reinforcements, both in men and in materials. The Allied troops were working under difficult conditions. Both at Aandalsnes and in Namsos, the harbour and the railway were subjected to constant air raids, and warships as well as transports were dangerously exposed in the narrow fjords. As a result, the Allies decided to abandon Southern Norway.

It is no secret that the first British troops to arrive at Aandalsnes had neither adequate equipment nor sufficient training. Nor was the co-operation between Norwegian and Allied military authorities always as good as could be desired. One reason for this was the firm belief exhibited by Allied officers in a "Fifth Column," which in reality did not exist. The Allied troops which later on arrived in Southern and Northern Norway, were, however, of high standard. Especially the Scotchmen and the French

Alpine Chasseurs made themselves very popular. General Ruge was of the opinion that the worst crisis was over by the end of April, and that the fighting in Southern Norway should be continued. Our allies were of another opinion; I shall not discuss which part was in the right. But it was inevitable that the sudden withdrawal from Southern Norway was a bitter disappointment to the Norwegian people.

Our Allies had given us to understand that Northern Norway would be held. There a fully organised Norwegian division was fighting under the command of an able general, and these troops were comparatively well trained. A fairly good aerodrome was available, and others could easily be established. The British fighter planes did excellent work during the last weeks of the campaign. The Norwegians however lacked supplies and munitions and they had to be supported by the British Navy. The Allies were, for reasons well known, not able to give them such support, and Northern Norway had to be given up in its turn to the Germans.

On June 7th the King and the Government left Tromsoe, on board a British cruiser. The hour was a bitter one, for those who left as well as for those who remained behind. King Haakon has always been the type of a loyal, constitutional monarch; he has always displayed a thinking common sense. Throughout the whole campaign he showed great moral and physical courage.

The Norwegian tragedy is perhaps best reflected in the fate of Narvik. From April 9th till May 29th the town was occupied by the Germans. Before being thrown out they destroyed with scientific thoroughness quays, power stations, railways, the telegraph, in short the entire material foundations of the economic existence of the Narvik. The day following the entry of the Norwegian and Allied troops into Narvik, a large number of houses were destroyed by German bombers. Ten days later the Swastika was again floating over the ruins. But others have suffered worse than we have. Our tragedy forms only a small part of the European tragedy. Our fate is linked to that of the Anglo-Saxon world.

ITALY'S GAMBLE

Economic Disaster for the Mediterranean Lands

by A. R. CUSDEN

ITALY, by entering the war against the Allies, has upset her own economic apple-cart and has jolted general Mediterranean economy out of its customary courses with serious injuries. Whatever fruits she may hope to gather from sharing a victory with Nazi Germany they are, at the moment, illusory, and even though they were to materialise (which is doubtful, despite present German successes) it would take many decades before they could make good the losses now caused by a dictator's decision. The disturbance of general economy in the Mediterranean will cause considerable inconvenience to all concerned, and necessarily involve losses to certain interests; but, strictly speaking, it is only a matter of readjustment for interested countries outside the Mediterranean. The important feature is not the temporary dislocation, but the new economy which will arise from the rearrangement imposed by the exigencies of war. Whilst certain measures which must now be taken will be only for the duration of the war, and therefore give an opening later for the re-establishing of pre-war economic relations, other changes will be of a lasting character and profoundly affect the future economic life of the Mediterranean, Italy in particular.

The Handicaps

Of all the bigger European States Italy is the least fitted for waging war on a grand scale, and for a long time against maritime Powers, without economic disaster. Admittedly, by becoming more vegetarian and still more frugal the people may avert the menace of semi-starvation —imports of live stock, meat,

fats, colonial produce, most cereals and alimentary derivatives are vastly in excess of exports, but there are equally huge export surpluses of milk and cheese and their products, and of vegetables and fruits, etc. But Italy is seriously deficient in the majority of essential raw materials, most of which were obtained from overseas.

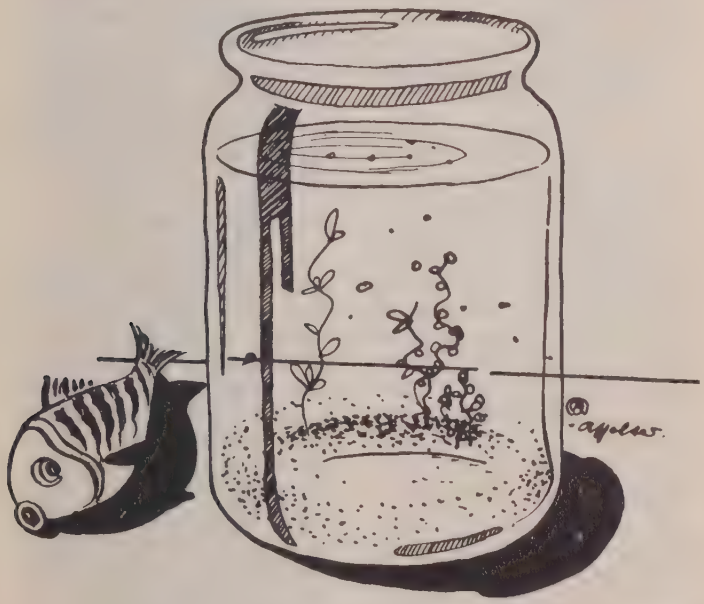
Imports

The extent of the evil economic plight into which Mussolini has thrust his country may be gauged by Italy's resultant net loss in her necessary imports of 80 to 90 per cent of crude oil and petrol, 20 to 25 per cent of coal, 70 to 85 per cent of iron ore, scrap and steel, and practically all the steel alloys required in the production of armaments; 93 per cent of raw cotton, and similarly high proportions of copper, tin, nickel and rubber, as compared with the average quantities imported during the past few years. And although Italy has in recent years made great advance in synthetic manufacture she now needs more (and not less) coal if the production of substitutes and of hydro-electric power is to be augmented. Furthermore, the chief industrial centres and electric power stations are in the north-west within easy reach of Allied bombers which may reasonably be expected to put the Italian industrial machine out of gear.

Exports

As regards Italy's exports, although Germany is easily her best customer and Switzerland occupies fourth place, the United States comes second on the list with Great Britain third and France and Argentina almost tying for the fifth place. The net result of the Allied blockade will probably be to reduce the annual value of exports to about thirty per cent of the average of 10,450,000,000 lire a year since the sanctions episode. The Allies will not suffer from the amputation of the Italian source of supplies, for they can readily obtain all they need of these commodities, including mercury and sulphur, elsewhere. Germany may be glad to buy up available surpluses of certain produce and commodities, but for the vint-

ners, the growers of citric fruits and for the shippers, the war probably spells ruin. The effect on the Italian shipping industry must be the most disastrous of all. Allowing for the continuance of traffic across the Adriatic, an aggregate tonnage of 2,080,000 is either laid up or commandeered by the Allies, and the Italian ports in which some 187,000,000 tonnage would be entered and cleared in normal times,



"Nebelspalter," Switzerland

He wanted to enlarge his Lebensraum.

representing about forty-five million tons of merchandise, are practically idle.

A Dead Sea

The elimination of Italy in overseas trading is the principal factor in the present derangement of Mediterranean economy. More than sixty per cent of Italy's trade passed through the three gateways to the Mediterranean; in addition, twenty per cent of British supplies which came from or passed through the Mediterranean, to say nothing of transport from Britain, have stopped, and there is now almost a complete cessation of the traffic of other countries except between France and her North African possessions and, at the far eastern end, between the countries of the littoral. In accordance with the convention of 1888 between all Maritime Powers the Suez Canal is being kept open to all (including enemy) nations, but since Allied warships guard the entrances the international waterway is virtually closed to Italian and German vessels; it is, indeed, little more than a waterway for ships of the Allied Navies. In practice, too, the Board of Trade Export Control Order issued on Italy's entry into the war, although not designed to stop trading with and between neutrals of the Mediterranean but only to strengthen the blockade of Italy, cannot be of any advantage to those neutrals so long as this sea remains the scene of naval operations and specially whilst its pinched waist between Sicily and Tunis is a live mine belt. For all commercial purposes, then, the Mediterranean Sea is a dead sea.

One-sided Effect

The virtual stoppage of Mediterranean trade is one-sided in its effects. Italy may hope to obtain more of her requirements of manufactured goods from Germany (though this is by no means sure under war conditions), but most of the Mediterranean countries will not be able to rely upon extra supplies either from Germany or Russia to make up for the loss of imports from other countries outside the Mediterranean. This may lead to some encouragement of home industries, yet not sufficient to satisfy their needs.

Those countries will have to go short. On the other hand, most of the commodities hitherto bought from Mediterranean by those outside can in due course be replaced by purchases elsewhere. There need be no serious deprivation in those purchasing countries. The Texas sulphur industry will gain still further at the expense of the Sicilian mines, with possible developments in Russia, Chile, Peru, Mexico and maybe New Zealand. Italian mercury will give place to supplies from California and Texas, and efforts will be made to increase production in Mexico and Peru, especially if uncertainty persists about German influence in the Spanish mines at Almaden. The Italians' loss of their overseas fruit trade offers bright possibilities to the Americas, the British Dominions and to some of the British and French African colonies. A similar movement will take place in respect of dates, currants, figs and fruits generally from other Mediterranean lands, and also for tobacco, gums, cotton and onions. Mediterranean supplies of zinc, manganese, antimony, and carpets can readily be balanced by increased imports from non-Mediterranean producers.

A Permanent Loss?

This creation of new economic relations and strengthening of existing relations with countries outside the Mediterranean can scarcely be expected to be merely a war convenience. The development may prove to be a permanent and serious loss to the countries of the Mediterranean.

THESE ARE HITLER'S PEACE PLANS

Little-by-Little Destruction of the Empire

by FREDERICH SONDER, Foreign Correspondent

From the "Birmingham News," U.S.A.

This remarkable article bears the stamp of authenticity. It is a warning to all who still think—if there are any such in Britain—that there is any other alternative in this struggle between continuing to fight Hitler, even from Canada, and final and utter subjection. Hitler, says this American correspondent, fears continued resistance from the Empire, and all that it implies as regards American support. His typical cunning is shown by denials in propaganda to the U.S.A. and to England of any intention to destroy the British Empire

THE thorough planners around Hitler, contemplating a smashing victory over the Allies, have been carefully thinking for months about the peace project to be imposed on London and Paris. In fact, they have long considered this just as important as the war plan itself.

Predominant in their councils, according to neutral insiders, has been the classic precept of Bismarck—an idol of Hitler's. One must either destroy a conquered nation entirely, the great diplomat said, or leave it essentially intact. Quoting this, a leading Nazi remarked to this writer some time ago: "At Versailles, they took half-way measures. We shall not repeat that mistake. We will do one or the other." Which?—is now the question in Berlin.

The chronic party radicals around Goebbels favour total destruction. The moderate, far-sighted Goering and General Staff leaders are talking of the milder Bismarckian alternative. And the few available omens seem to indi-

cate that Hitler prefers the latter. There are various—not humanitarian, but very practical—reasons for this.

The smashing of the British Empire has always been considered most inadvisable by the Berlin moderates.

They fear that with the destruction of London as a centre, one of two things may immediately happen. Either the seat of the Empire may be transferred at once to Canada—with the bulk of the British fleet. Or that the dominions and India may declare their independence. From reports of "entirely speculative conversations" in London recently, Berlin judges the former possibility as the stronger. In either case, the riches of Britain's possessions will be very hard to get at.

It is, therefore, vastly preferable—these moderates think—to let London continue to administer what only London can administer. As a vassal state, of course, with the German pistol pointed always at its head. Germany might then—slowly—ease into the control of the Empire without having to conquer each dominion separately.

A second fear—and this has been hashed out by the German General Staff College for years—is the danger of the militaristic solidarity of the North America continent. It would be heightened by the establishment of a British imperial centre in Canada.

The resources of this combination would be so great and their desire for revenge so strong that they would form a continuous source of support for every attempt at insurrection by the subjugated countries of Europe. Hitler himself has an almost superstitious dread of American power—despite our present distaste for getting into the European war and our weakness in armaments. And all neutral sources confirm that the danger of our eventual intervention was an important factor in his launching the Blitzkrieg when he did.

It is in Berlin's books to lull this country back into comparative isolationism—to cope with Britain first in a way that will not bring us to our full height.

A third fear which weighs heavily in Berlin—particularly with Hitler himself—is the

danger of Japan's controlling the East. Half mystically, half practically, the Führer has always believed that the "Son of Heaven" was destined to lead the Orient against the Occident. He has said so on various occasions in the sort of gatherings where he really speaks his mind.

At any rate, the Wilhelmstrasse sees Japanese control of the Pacific an automatic corollary to Britain's complete and immediate destruction—a control which will affect Germany as violently as it would all other governments of the white races, as the events of the past years have shown.

How Hitler hopes to accomplish this end is not known. Whether Churchill's Government would accept terms from Berlin is impossible to foresee as yet. But it is definite that these thoughts are uppermost in the minds of the Berlin satraps. And neutral observers in the Reich capital think they have the next move closely calculated.

The German General Staff, according to these reports, has not swung its forces to the channel ports for any fear of General Weygand. In fact, they regard—judging from the experience of last week—the French Army as a pushover for the extraordinary Nazi armoured and aerial machine. And they believe Paris knows that any further resistance will be practically useless, in the face of a fire power superior to their own by almost five to one.

Whether the French make a separate peace or not, the Germans are now prepared to break out their entire air reserve and submarine fleet from Calais and Dunkirk. The moment that that's over—and those same observers, who haven't been wrong up to now, believe it won't take long—Berlin will be ready to talk turkey with London and Paris.

That's the plan for the moment. Surprises are always possible. But Berlin is betting pretty heavily.

THE BATTLE OF FLANDERS

From the "Stuttgarter Neues Tagblatt," 24-5-40

This is a typical example of what the Germans were told about the Battle of Flanders, atrocities and general war guilt. It shows clearly what a disappointment the successful withdrawal of the B.E.F. at Dunkirk must have been for the German High Command

THE greatest battle in the history of the world, the commencement of which was announced in the German High Command's communiqué on Tuesday, is in progress. In order to understand its dimensions, its course, and its decisive importance, one must realise once more what it implies. The German forces, after an advance of unparalleled speed and amazing audacity, succeeded in enclosing a great part of the combined enemy forces between the Somme and the Channel coast. Next, by the occupation of the Amiens-Abbeville line, the French, Belgian and English troops were cut off from their outlet to the south-west. Then the German troops pushed forward from Arras to Montreuil-sur-Mer, thus creating a new encirclement, from which they pressed in on the enemy forces.

Meanwhile, in western Artois, the advance is proceeding in the direction of Calais. Thus the stranglehold is being tightened. This pressure is being applied to very strong enemy forces, among which are their best troops. The enemy knows what confronts him. His fighting forces are still intact. He is making great efforts to break through the terrible ring. He is putting up a fierce resistance, and this is only to be expected, for he is faced with the question: "To be or not to be?"

The French know that they can only be saved by the "miracle" for which M. Reynaud hopes. Moreover, by the vigorous and successful moves of the German Air Force on the Channel coast, and by their pitiless watch on the waters of the Channel, serious if not in-

surmountable obstacles for the English have been placed in the way of return to their island home. The German advance on Calais has further increased these dangers.

The attack on Dover by our forces is like a signal. There is no escape. So day by day the enemy is launching desperate counter-attacks and attempts to break through. He is hurling waves of tanks against the wall of the German encirclement. But every attack breaks down with heavy losses under the fire of the superior German tanks and the well-aimed hail of bombs from our dive-bombers. The German anti-aircraft guns, of whose astonishing success in driving off enemy air attacks evidence is given in Wednesday's special report, have also successfully helped in throwing back the enemy tanks in the land fighting. As a result of their effective quick-firing, many of the English and French tanks burst into flames. They remained in the battlefield in ruins. The ring is being drawn systematically tighter. The enemy's desperate counter-action can no longer avert the fate which confronts him.

In addition to its effectiveness in the area of the great decisive battle, the German Air Force has inflicted much damage on the enemy at sea, besides dropping bombs on his communications, troop concentrations and harbours in the rear, and setting fire to his transport trains.

Last night Dutch territory and Dutch people also became the victims of indiscriminate enemy bombing. The Dutch, England's allies, have now from their own experience obtained an impression of the Western Powers' method of warfare. Civilians are the victims of attacks which have no military value whatever.

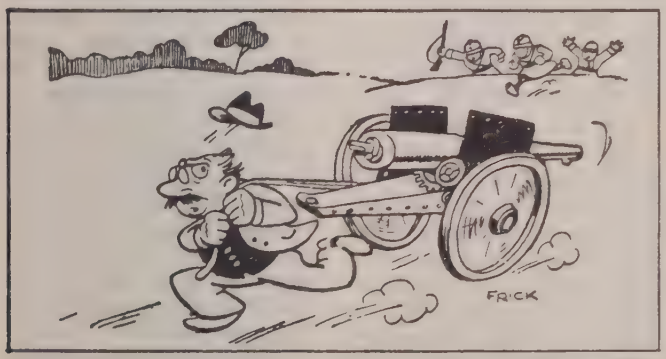
The enemy's difficulties increase. "All labour resources and property must be relinquished and placed at the disposal of the Government," declared Attlee in the English parliament yesterday. Attlee was the leader of the Opposition, and is now appointed a minister in Churchill's cabinet, in order to make the Governments requisitioning law acceptable to the English people.

Day by day, the impotent rage arising from despair and a realisation that there is no

escape finds an outlet in new atrocity lies. "The German parachutists have mown down thousands of Belgian refugees with machine-gun fire and have fired on ambulances," rages the London radio. British refugees, declares the same source, mostly old people and children, have been attacked on board the refugee ships.

So it continues unabated. On Tuesday the men of the German Air Force demonstrated the truth to the world. The German airmen went to such lengths to spare the enemy civilians that they endangered themselves. But the enemy uses refugees as a shield for his soldiers, while from behind ambulances his tanks advance and anti-aircraft guns roar at the German airmen, who, out of consideration for the wounded and the civilians, do not fire back.

The war which our opponents painted in such glowing colours, and by means of which they wished to inflict hunger, need and misery upon us has now broken over them. We did not want it. The war-mongers in London and Paris would not forgo it at any price. Now it has come. But they have fallen into its hell and there is no escape. The German army has taken hold of the enemy and will strike him down.



"Marianne," Paris

"They owe me this at least after all the years I've paid military taxes."

NEWSREEL OF ROTTERDAM

Germans Blame the Dutch!

From the "Berliner Lokal Anzeiger," 25.5.40

In five days war, with all its horrors, passed through Holland. A wild, lightning war, which the Dutch Government could have spared their country if they had behaved in a responsible manner, instead of fleeing and leaving the Dutch nation to its fate. The Dutch war was so short that there were many Dutch towns and villages which were not aware of its existence, and in which not a single house was damaged. But in those places where resistance was offered, it had to be broken, and there the devastated regions are witness to the severity of the struggle. The fighting was particularly intense in the big port of Rotterdam. The latest newsreel shows the destruction, the burning rows of houses, the effect of our dive-bombers. We only see one district in which fighting had taken place, but here alone a row of houses half a kilometre long was destroyed. The undamaged districts are not shown in the newsreel, the purpose of which is to portray this aspect of the war. The Dutch Government, who wantonly risked this destruction when they proclaimed a senseless resistance, are solely responsible for what is here preserved in picture form. The description in the first report from Rotterdam to be submitted by the war correspondent von Esebeck, which we print below, is a supplement to the newsreel pictures now being shown:

"So this is Rotterdam. On the mighty bridge which spans the Holländische Diep stand German A.A. posts. Between the Diep and the Maas a pill-box rises above the edge of the road, from which sounds are carried to us, which reveal the success of the first attack of our parachute troops. Three hundred metres farther on, in a well-concealed camp, were Dutch troops. To-day it is a welter of steel helmets, gas masks, overcoats, puttees and tin canisters.

"The magnificent motor-road is strewn with wreckage. Cars

and lorries lie along the verge, abandoned by the Dutch in their headlong flight. Here, on the Diep, the English made one modest attempt to land. When they felt the impact of German fire, they vanished as silently as they had come. Since then quiet has reigned.

"Rotterdam was already a theatre of war on May 10th. The Dutch themselves made the town into a battlefield when, from the northern bank of the Maas, they tried to regain possession of the bridges we had taken. On May 13th the enemy was asked through an intermediary, a Dutch pastor, to evacuate the northern bank in order to prevent the destruction of the town. The enemy refused. The next day a fresh intermediary was sent, who gave a time limit for the surrender and evacuation of the town. The Dutch commander was ready to negotiate, but suddenly he withdrew, and allowed the time limit to expire. The surrender only took place after the small German detachments had attacked. The Dutch commander, therefore, bears the responsibility for the disaster which of necessity then broke over Rotterdam.

"The question must be asked whether it was really necessary to bomb Rotterdam. With its great harbour system, its gardens and houses stretching far into the country, it should be an open town. But in reality, up to the last minute the Dutch troops did everything, as in the case of Warsaw, to prepare the port for defence.

"The town was heavily fortified. Barricades were erected, fighting posts built and positions taken up. When on the morning of May 14th German aeroplanes landed unexpectedly under the bridges of the Nieuwe Maas, and shock troops in leather boats rapidly occupied one of the fortified blocks of houses, they struck against well-armed field positions. Here the struggle for the fortified town began; Dutch incendiary bombs reduced the district to flames.

"A cinema and the Ost-Molen, a slender windmill resting on firm supports, stand unharmed in the midst of a maze of ruins. A grey cloud of dust lies over the whole district, which was an important shopping centre. When we stop, the workers who are clearing up the wreckage always come

up to our cars and try to speak to us. So it is proved again and again that these men, of whom a great many have lost all their possessions, have no feeling of hate.

"It is only astonishing that there are still representatives of the Western Powers who have not understood the lesson of Warsaw. Let them therefore be reminded of Rotterdam. Whoever has seen Toledo, a district of Madrid, Casa del Campo, in the Spanish War, then Warsaw, and now Rotterdam, must realise that the fortification of big towns is the war-makers' most infamous crime. Yet there are still people who are ready to provoke such attacks.

"Nebelspalter" *Switzerland*

THE HOPEFUL LITTLE SWISS

"You've no idea what a difference it makes being nice to them!"

GERMANS ARE NOT JUBILANT

From the "Schweizerische Republikanische Blätter," Rapperswil, Switzerland, 25.5.40

It is reported from very pro-German quarters that, in contrast to 1914, the people show no inclination for jubilation. The entire population is very serious. The general expectation is of a quick peace, which it is hoped to force upon England. No feeling of hate is perceptible, only a fearful contempt for the English, who are held solely responsible for everything. The Führer was compelled to act in self-defence. Everywhere one finds the one and only slogan: "We want peace, so that afterwards we may live safely and undisturbed."

But this our esteemed neighbours could certainly have bought more cheaply, for we really cannot think of anyone who tried to frustrate the Germans or make life impossible for them. Had they, after annexing two little border States, finally left the rest alone, the world would still be at peace.

Even military circles in Germany are not vainglorious about the tornado that has been let loose, and cannot now be halted. Yet, according to all observers, the military leaders, even the older ones, have absolute faith in the dynamic methods of the Führer. They tell themselves that the tactics of throwing the maximum force into a comparatively small space must lead to success. But the front is already 400 kilometres wide. This is no small space, and to employ the maximum shock potentials on each sector of such a front requires such resources of men and material as have been demanded of no nation since the world began. Neither Alexander, nor Cæsar, nor Napoleon would have had the boldness to carry to its conclusion the terrible battle of men and material which has now been started.

BRITAIN'S DECADENCE

Three Out-of-Date Maxims

From the "Neues Wiener Tagblatt" (Vienna), 30.4.40

THIS time it was the English Air Minister, Sir Samuel Hoare, who was faced with the task of making a twisting speech about present troubles in order to deceive the public opinion of his country. From the notices in to-day's London Press he certainly seems to have had little success. The discontent of the English people at the mendacious reports from Norway can only be surpassed by their indignation at the incompetence and lack of purpose which England's whole conduct of the war has shown up till now. Hoare could not but admit the superiority of the German Air Force. While fresh setbacks in the future become increasingly difficult to dispose of in public, the Air Minister obviously found no other argument to explain the unbroken chain of British failures. And, with a tragic sigh, he added the classic words: "England must no longer leave the monopoly of energy, of vigilance, and of determination to the enemy."

We doubt whether the British Air Minister meant this as a compliment to the German people. In any case, it was no compliment to his own. It now remains to be seen whether this appeal can make the English people rise up as one man and snatch that valuable monopoly from the Germans. But when one person wants to deprive another of something, his success depends not only on himself, but in an equal degree on the person he wants to rob. Thus we can now tell the British Air Minister that the German people will never again allow the monopoly of which he is so envious to be taken from them. For this monopoly is the outcome of National Socialist training. And the English people will never be able to make up for these years of training, still less to create themselves the spirit which is its mainspring. Here a people

sicklied over with the pallor of individual speculation is confronted by a people steeled in the white heat of resolution. What do your lamentable speeches mean, Sir Samuel, what are your encouraging talks intended to achieve? How do you still dare, now that you seem to recognise the superiority of the German Air Force and perhaps even of Germany's conduct of the war in general, to summon your poor soldiers and your hired troops from France, Canada and India to risk their lives further in an undertaking about whose outcome they can no longer be in any doubt! Naturally it does not affect your life or that of your colleagues. You have made a fool of yourself long enough. Put on your top-hat and go off to your club!

British power-politics have till now relied on three maxims. The first finds expression in the English joke that "Thinking

"Excuse me, sir, you've dropped something."

"Ric et Rac," Paris

prohibited" is written in giant letters on the chalk cliffs of Dover. That is as much as to say: "We English are so powerful and rich that we need not take the trouble to think." It was obviously in this morbid state of mind that the English declared war on the German people. But here for once they have made a mistake. Now they will be taught to think.

The second maxim is a boundless trust in the sporting spirit of the English race. To illustrate this spirit, which is naturally considered as invincible, it is said in stories about the Great War that English soldiers kicked a football before them when they charged in Flanders or Champagne. It must, of course, be said that the English would never have won the war with this mythical football, but that they owed this unexpected turn of events, after the blood sacrifice of France, entirely to American tanks. But in any case, it must be slowly dawning on the English to-day that this war, let loose by the plutocratic upper classes of London, is grim earnest and has nothing to do with sport or play. At sea the English have certainly had no opportunity till now of kicking a water-ball before them.

Finally, the third maxim is that with which England has always comforted herself in times of trouble, and to which the hard-pressed British ruling clique now have recourse once more. This maxim is: England always wins the last battle. If the English refer to history, they can likewise learn that to every empire comes the day of its downfall. Perhaps the "last battle" maxim had some justification while England was an island.

To-day we have heard even from the lips of British statesmen that England has ceased to be an island. And every day confirms this fact further. So this maxim too will be proved unsound. Germany in her struggle will take good care that England has no time left for that last battle which she apparently always wins.

LEOPOLD THE GERMAN

From "Die Weltwoche," Zürich, 17.5.40

The writer of this article cannot be accused of bias, since he wrote before the surrender of King Leopold; yet he clearly reveals the background causes of the King's action

If any further proof were needed that Fate shows no more consideration to the great men of this world than it does to us simple mortals, then the life of King Leopold of the Belgians would provide it. The young king lost his revered father a few years ago—1934—through an accident in the rocks of Marche-les-Dames. Scarcely a year and a half later the young king's adored wife met her death in that terrible motor accident at Küssnacht which still lives in the memory of all. But these private tragedies were not enough: while still a boy of thirteen Leopold of the Belgians had to undergo the invasion of his fatherland by a merciless enemy, and to-day he himself, as a full-grown man, must take his place in the field at the head of his army against the same enemy who entered unhappy Belgium twenty-five years ago.

Yet the most malicious opponent of Leopold of the Belgians cannot reproach him with not having done everything in his power to preserve peace. On the contrary, he often went so far in his efforts to keep his country out of European affairs that his old friends in England and France reproached him for being pro-German. More than once Leopold intervened decisively in this way in Belgian foreign policy. On his initiative Belgium's policy of neutrality was constantly reaffirmed, which indirectly implied a renunciation of King Albert's post-war policy of reliance on the Western Powers. In a speech which has become famous, the king changed his course to steer his country from the Allied camp into the safe (as he believed) waters of absolute neutrality. At the time many admired the king's foresight. Others remained sceptical. But there was no one who ventured to suggest

that Leopold lacked the necessary understanding of Germany.

It is part of the tragedy of this king, who must to-day fight against Germany, that he, like the Prince Consort of Holland, is descended from even purer German stock than the Führer. On his father's side King Leopold is descended from the ducal family of the Coburgs, which traces its origins as far back as the Saxon Duke Witukind, whom the Nazis—for a time—liked to compare with Charlemagne in order to make this allegedly pure German prince a national hero. From his mother the king inherits Wittelsbach, and from his grandmother Hohenzollern, blood.

Immediately following the Great War the Belgian royal family dared not see much of their German relations. Indeed, one of the queen's closest relations, Prince Rupert of Bavaria, was himself German commander-in-chief in the struggle against Belgium. But as soon as he could King Leopold resumed connections with his

"Le Canard Enchainé," Paris

"I offer you help and fidelity. . . ." "Your name isn't Leopold, by any chance?"

"Fancy that Leopold turning out to be a communist."

German relations. He paid many visits to his old grandmother in her Bavarian castle, when a company of Adolf Hitler's bodyguard formed the guard of honour on his arrival and departure. A Bavarian uncle of the king came to Brussels for Queen Astrid's funeral, where, with the Iron Cross on his breast, he followed the gun-carriage which carried the coffin of the queen.

King Leopold first saw the light of day in the year 1901 at Brussels. While still quite young, his early boyhood was overshadowed by the German invasion. War raged throughout Belgium. With the last remnants of his army, the father of the present king, the "Roi Soldat," Albert I, defended a little corner of land which was still unconquered by the enemy. The sovereign wished to share the same fate as his soldiers. The queen wanted to remain with him, but there was no need to expose their three children to the horrors of war. So the children, Leopold (the present king), Charles, the present Count of Flanders, and their sister Marie-José, who was later to marry the Italian Crown Prince, were sent to England. There the heir to the throne entered Eton under the name of Count Rhety. Here he was only a boy like all the others; in fact, more humble than the others—a Belgian refugee. He had none of the snobbish attraction of so many of his schoolfellows. It only became known by degrees that the Count Rhety was in reality the heir to the Belgian throne. Later, too, the prince's modesty did not change. As crown prince, and even as king of his restored fatherland, Leopold travelled third class when abroad, and carried his own luggage. These are no cheap sensation stories, but actual facts. This attitude does not portray a perverted snobbishness, but a genuine inborn simplicity and independence.

In his youth the prince, like his father, had a passion for motor-cycling. He only gave up this sport after an old Flemish fortune-teller had predicted that somewhere she could see death on wheels. The prophecy, as is well known, had its terrible fulfilment when the king was driving in his car on a hill at Küssnacht.

The king sought consolation

and refuge from his personal grief in his kingly mission. After his accession to the throne he had vowed: "Je me donne tout entier à la Belgique." The king made this vow before the representatives of his whole people. The queen had taken her place on the dais beside the king. Her beautiful face was hidden behind her mourning veil, while the two children, Josephine-Charlotte and Baudoin, the little heir to the throne, looked wide-eyed on this unaccustomed ceremony. It was the historic meeting of Parliament to sanction the accession, for the Belgian constitution does not provide for an actual coronation.

The king has always faithfully kept his vow to live solely for Belgium. From the day of his accession, despite his youth, his aim was not to be a pawn in the hands of representatives. The king wanted to be a constitutional monarch, no more, but also no less. He made full use of his royal right "to advise and mediate." More than once he

"La Lumière," Paris

"Rise, King Leopold, Knight of the Fifth Column."

used it, thanks to his tact and authority, to put an end to cabinet crises which threatened to endanger the country. To enjoy the king's confidence soon became almost as important to ministers as the chamber's approval of their policy. Leopold III always stood above all parties like a true constitutional monarch. Certainly the king, as every free man, had his own views and sympathies. But the constitution forbade him to take part in party politics. So he was just as friendly to the Fascist leader, Degrelle, as to the Communist deputies, who left the palace somewhat bewildered by their friendly reception. "The king," said one of them, "is a very pleasant and intelligent man. We got on very well with him." The good relations maintained by King Albert with the late Socialist leader, Vandervelde, were continued under Leopold III.

To keep in touch with events in peace-time the king read all the Belgian and a great many French, English and German newspapers. Like his mother, he had artistic interests. He did not lack understanding of pictures and furniture. He once said that he would probably have become an interior decorator if Fate had not called him to another profession. Leopold III speaks four languages: French, Flemish, German and English, all with equal perfection. I once heard him break into German to a delegation from Eupen, as a sign of his toleration. The king also generally spoke German with his wife, who, although she came from the Bernadotte family, which is French in origin, only spoke very broken French.

For some time past, but particularly since the outbreak of war last autumn, the King of the Belgians had recognised the growing danger from Germany which threatened his country. So he set to with great energy to reorganise the Belgian army.

In this way the king made good at least part of the error he had committed when he believed that he could ensure peace for his country by withdrawing Belgium from the French Alliance, and at the same time from French protection. Like so many neutrals, the King of the Belgians

believed that the will for unconditional neutrality, as declared by different nations, is enough to really ensure peace to the small states. That this is not so has been shown not only to Belgium, but to the whole world by the events of the last few weeks. One power which, as she is herself always reiterating, desires the domination of Europe, and whose policy is always guided by the principle "That which profits Germany is right," cannot be stopped by the neutrals without being untrue to her own principle.

Happy the countries who reckoned with this possibility in time. After all, those kings and statesmen should also be considered happy who are not ingloriously forced to yield. Although the fate of a people at war and of its leaders is harsh, yet it is infinitely more enviable than that of a people who must yield ingloriously.

MORE LITTLE NAZIS

The cables reported some little time ago that Herr Himmler, head of the Nazi secret police, had ordered the production of more children, even outside wedlock if need be. News now comes of a safeguard. The *Schwarze Korps*, organ of the S.S. Guard, forecasts a law directed against the Lotharios who excuse the indulgence of their pleasures on the pretext that they are engaged in a sacred racial task. "No man," thunders the *Schwarze Korps*, "shall be able under the cover of 'racial tasks' to develop into a Don Juan and then say he did it 'for his people.' German women are no free game." The paper defends the unmarried mother, but draws a distinction between "unmarried parents who act in consciousness of their racial responsibility and the deep natural longing for a child and those who are united perhaps only by frivolity." Herr Frick, Minister of the Interior, has announced in the same paper his full approval.—*"Japan Chronicle," Tokyo.*

TROUBLE INSIDE SPAIN

by PAUL WERNER, Spanish Correspondent

From "Die Weltwoche," Zürich, 24.5.40

Franco's Spain has declared herself non-belligerent instead of neutral, on the model of Mussolini's Italy. At the same time, she makes unofficial, but vociferous, demands for Gibraltar and has occupied the International Zone of Tangier. Here is the internal background to these moves

During the first years of its existence Nationalist Spain has undergone an internal transformation, of which there were already signs in the second half of the Civil War. The Government has not succeeded in uniting the two leading political movements, the Catholic-Monarchist traditionalists (in the Civil War they formed the Requeté troops) and the Falangist renaissance movement. The ideologies of the two parties are too widely divergent. It is true that during the Civil War, under the common threat from without, they sank their differences, and by the foundation of the Spanish United Party, General Franco skilfully created the external appearance of internal peace. But after the war it soon became evident that this peace was only a truce and that the two movements had only postponed their day of frank speaking.

In the struggle for control of internal politics the old aristocratic Spain has shown itself to be the stronger. It is a real tragedy to see how the youth of the nation, who aimed at the realisation of the ideas of José Primo de Rivera, exhausted all their strength at the front during the Civil War. In the end the war-weary Falangists possessed no more energy to recapture the administrative posts which had been taken during the Civil War by the old men past fighting age. These men, most of whom came from the old Spanish aristocracy, had in their day been driven out by the newly arisen Republic, for personal as well as for political reasons. They lived in exile, until their hour struck again.

This aristocracy, with all their privileges, who during five centuries of government gradually allowed the Spanish Empire to disintegrate until it finally grew into a doubtful Republic, to-day still possess the political instinct which, although it could not preserve the Spanish Empire, knows how to guard the interests of the upper classes. There would be nothing to reproach them for if they did not cling with an incredible tenacity to traditions which are in direct opposition to the developments which have arisen through the passage of time. For the country's youth no place remained when they came home, and no field of action of any importance where they could put into practice their ideas for the new Spain. The bad blood which was thus caused created a constant state of agitation. The Falangists soon perceived that although they had fought and given their lives for a new Spain, on their return home they found an old —pre-Republican—Spain. The consequent latent tension between the two victorious parties was perforce still further aggravated and complicated by a third movement, which is not much weaker than both the others together, although it is the defeated party. When Madrid fell, about eight million Reds became "White" overnight. But the difference between the latter and the Falange is not so great as is generally believed. Ideologically the Falange and the leading Red movements, the F.A.I. and the C.N.T., stand on socialist ground. The latter only became international and stateless when Russia hung the insignia of the Third International on them by means of military assistance and propaganda. To-day these arguments are discarded, and although the F.A.I. and C.N.T. are no more, yet the men who belonged to them are still living.

At the beginning of his revolution the Spanish Generalissimo professed to be a Fascist, or rather what Spain understands by a Fascist. He fought for a real social equality on the basis of the social reforms developed by the Falange. The youth of the country acknowledged him as the *Caudillo* and were ready to conquer or to die for the new idea. Franco's closest

collaborators, even in the highest military circles, were National-Syndicalists, and his politicians likewise ranged themselves with the new movement, if necessary overnight. All went well until the expansion of the nationalists' territory began to raise ever-increasing problems of personnel and suitable brains. For his part, Franco had hesitated to entrust young, inexperienced men with difficult tasks. He shrank from the responsibility and preferred to fall back on the old political circles, who at least, one knew, could have

IN EIRE TO-DAY

"It isn't much of a wheat-field, but it would make a grand anti-tank trap."

"Dublin Opinion"

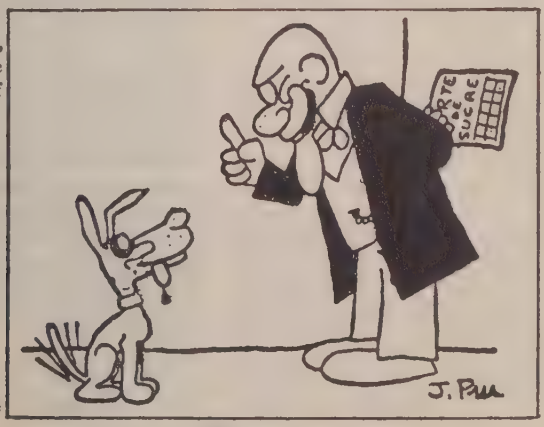
nothing in common with the People's Front. He paid bitterly for this hesitancy in acknowledging himself to be the sole 100-per-cent instigator and victor of the revolution, because of the initial risk that it might not quite succeed. Franco fell more and more under the influence of his immediate entourage, under that of his financial supporters, the Juan March circle, the Conde Ramones, and above all under that of the largest property-owner in Spain, the Catholic Church.

In this dilemma the Spanish Generalissimo preferred a compromise to a definite stand. He tried to be fair to all. He paid bitterly for this mistake. General Franco has not the personality of a Mussolini or a Hitler. Even in the Civil War he was known as a "kind" general, who lost his authority by being too ready to stand aside. He never banged his fist on the table to emphasise his own opinion, but relied more and more on the whispered advice of his immediate entourage. In this entourage the old Spanish circles, which were much larger than, and, in intelligence and political "experience," superior to, the Falange, held the upper hand. Around the leader of the State a certain Camarilla has been formed which is to-day, above the person of the Minister of the Interior, Ramo Serrano Suner, the real ruler of the country. This fact is an open secret. It was not difficult for this Camarilla gradually to purge the Government. Well-known Falangists vanished silently from the "Consejo Nacional," a kind of parliament, and personalities of breeding and energy, such as General Yagüe and General Queipo de Llano, who, although they hold high posts (Yagüe is Air Minister), were all dismissed from the positions to which they really belonged and where the people would like to see them. The party itself is in great difficulties. General Munoz Grande, as party secretary, tried for some time to ensure political power for the movement, such as in Germany and Italy. But the work met with difficulties, for the immediate entourage of the Spanish leader will not tolerate any other powerful party instrument. For these reasons General Munoz Grande

fell out with his Minister of the Interior, and when as a result certain further irregularities in the books of the "Auxilio Social" were exposed, the General finally tendered his resignation from the Government. It is a sign of the times that the post vacated by General Grande about ten weeks ago is still unoccupied.

For these and various other reasons it seems natural to suppose that the internal political constellation of Spain cannot remain as it is at present. In what form a change may be expected is extremely uncertain. Probably future developments depend very much on world events, and if in this connection Spain should be faced with the decisive question—war or no war—it is quite possible that a revolution in high places must first be reckoned with. The possibility of the people being able to express their opinion in some way or other seems to be excluded at present. They are too tired and sick of fighting. For some time the people have been beyond wishing for improved living conditions. All they want is peace and quiet.

When Italy, during the course of the successful German adventure in Scandinavia, began to adopt an increasingly hostile attitude towards the



"Beg nicely, and I'll give you a bit of sugar-card."

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

Allies, Madrid began to cogitate. A sudden change of sentiment was observable in Spain. The country is now afraid of being drawn into the war, and as this could only happen through Italian intervention in the conflict, realisation of this fact is not exactly calculated to increase Spanish sympathies for Italy. Spain is afraid of war, not only because it is too little prepared, but above all because, after its own self-destruction, it has really better things to do than to plunge into fresh entanglements.

Dictators' Trade Union

These facts, however, do not exclude certain clear-cut, well-considered calculations in Madrid regarding the future. There is belief in Madrid in the ideological unity of the dictator States, which will rise or fall together. It is believed that they will all be lost—Spain as well—as soon as one of them falls. It is said that Fascist Italy would be oppressed by the democratic Allies and would stand alone and helpless in face of this oppression, were Germany to lose the war merely because Italy did not help her to victory. The same would be the case of Spain; the urge to self-preservation would force her to adopt an attitude favourable to the dictator States, in so far as she would be faced with the alternative: "Heads I win, tails you lose." Spain, as a Mediterranean power, is naturally bound to Italy in more than one respect; and when Franco in the Civil War re-established the national regime, Italy proved that she regarded the position of her western neighbour as being of decisive importance in the maintenance of Mediterranean equilibrium.

Spain will, of course, remain neutral. It was remarkable, however, that it was not the Foreign Minister, Beigbeder, but the Minister of the Interior, Serrano Suner, who, a week ago, felt himself obliged to emphasise Spanish neutrality with respect to France, in spite of the fact that everyone knows Suner, as a declared francophobe, was once the leading advocate of a military alliance between Spain and the Axis Powers.

The question is becoming more and more acute, whether

Spain can remain neutral if one of its strong neighbours doesn't like it. That Spain has for some time been reckoning with various possibilities is undeniable. Certain precautionary measures introduced during the Civil War have still not been abolished. The fortification works in the Pyrenees and in the south, near Gibraltar, have never been abandoned; on the contrary, with the outbreak of the European war, they were pushed ahead. It may also be pointed out that the army has never been completely demobilised. The country is in a state of constant readiness and, knowing the Spanish character, one may be certain that anyone touching Spanish territory without consent would find himself in a hornet's nest.

As I mentioned in my last article from the Balearics (See *World Review,* June—*Editor*), I observed discreet preparations there for strengthening the defence of this strategic position. If the unconfirmed rumours which were going the round of well-informed circles in Madrid before I left are correct, troops have also been sent to North Spain — to the mining district near Bilbao —to the Pyrenees, and, it is interesting to note, to the Portuguese frontier as well. These precautions, in so far as they are correctly reported, confirm the theory that Spain is reckoning with warlike developments.

THAT ENGLAND STILL

Refugee dogs from Belgium and Holland, saved by their owners at personal sacrifice.—Our Dumb Friends' League, at the request of the Ministry of Agriculture, is giving free six months' quarantine to these dogs, whose owners have lost everything. Do please help our Dumb Friends' League and our Allies' pets by sending a gift to the Refugee Fund.—*Advt. in "The Times."*

GIBRALTAR! GIBRALTAR!

From "Voice of Spain," London, 8.6.40

For some days before the arrival in Madrid of our new Ambassador, Sir Samuel Hoare, not only were there many references in the Spanish Press to Gibraltar, but groups of noisy Falangists paraded the streets shouting "Gibraltar! Gibraltar! Gibraltar!" Our readers are no doubt aware that in Italy there has long been a campaign against France and England, and that there have been recently an increasing number of hostile demonstrations against the Allies. The world awaits Mussolini's decision as to the moment he will stab France in the back, and everybody wonders whether his attack on the Allies will include an attack on Gibraltar, and whether Spain will either join with him or, *under the guise of neutrality,* assist him in that attack. The campaign about Gibraltar in Nationalist Spain is not new, but we believe that the English public is not fully aware of either its extent or its basis or its gravity. Only the other day (to be precise, on May 31st) Manuel Aznar, General Franco's official spokesman, made a demand for the return of the rock, and the Radio Nacional broadcast it to the world, saying that Spain must remove this shadow which towers between Spain and England, and that Spanish claims are various, but first among them is that for the return of this Spanish territory.

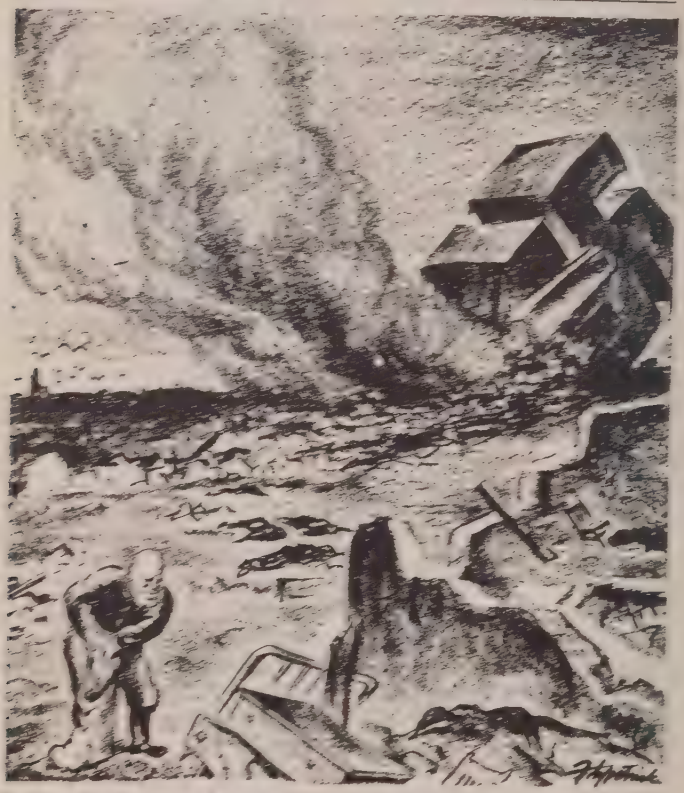
Nearly a year ago there was a similar campaign. The newspaper *Arriba* of August 1st last quoted Angel Ganivet, the Spanish philosopher of the nineteenth century, referring to the arrival of the British fleet before Gibraltar 235 years ago, which led to the capture of the Rock on August 5th, 1704, saying that these were 235 years of "permanent offence" which had only been possible by Spain's decadence. In fact, Spain's decadence dated from the moment when Gibraltar "ceased to form a component part of Spanish sovereignty. But now Spain arises again—for all Spaniards have placed their unshakable

faith in our victorious Leader and are sure about our future destiny. We recall the date on which we lost Gibraltar, and are convinced that the day will come soon when the question will be satisfactorily settled." At the same time the *Popolo d'Italia* fanned the flames, saying: "Everybody knows that the British flag flying over the rock of Gibraltar infuriates the Spaniards, and annoys all the other Mediterranean peoples, but now that Spain is rapidly turning into a military power of the front rank, Gibraltar is becoming a source of weakness. *Without writing it off completely, it may safely be said that it has lost fifty per cent of its defensive value, and from seventy to seventy-five per cent of its offensive value.*" The general official view in Spain was expressed by *A B C*, which said: "Gibraltar is a permanent offence, but does not hinder the normal development of our nation, nor does it constitute sufficient cause for us to sacrifice other interests which are more valuable."

At least five important countries are interested in Gibraltar, and for different reasons, but all depending on one principle, which is that whoever holds the Rock has the western gate of the Mediterranean. For Great Britain, it is the key of our principal trade route, and France could not afford to see it in hostile hands. For Fascist Italy, it is an essential point in Mussolini's plans to make the Mediterranean an Italian sea, and if he cannot have it himself he would like to see it in the hands of a Spain subservient to his will.

Spain has been and continues to be by far the most valuable, and may prove to be the decisive, factor in the furtherance of Italian aggression. That is why Spain is a part of the Rome-Berlin axis. The German geo-politicians have studied the Mediterranean problems with the usual German thoroughness, and one of them, Frau Margarete Boveri, has written a very remarkable book on the subject, which we hope our military and naval authorities have studied carefully, as it does not mince words. She says, in effect, that while the western democracies have an

obvious interest in maintaining the *status quo* in the Mediterranean, the totalitarian powers have an equally obvious interest in a change which will give them all the strategic points, of which Spain is the most important. Now, both Hitler and Mussolini knew perfectly well that a liberal-



St. Louis Post-Dispatch, U.S.A.

LITTLE CÆSAR'S ROLE

democratic Spain would naturally incline towards the western democracies, or that at least she would observe a much stricter neutrality than was observed in the war of 1914-18. That was why it was imperatively necessary, as a prelude to attack against France and England, that liberal-democratic Spain should be destroyed, and the country reduced to a regime which would work hand in hand with the totalitarians.

The Balearic Islands are almost as important as Gibraltar, as they provide a magnificent starting-point for severing at will the normal communications in the western Mediterranean. Indeed, the Balearics must prove a decisive factor in the Mediterranean conflict, and it is a matter of agreement between Hitler and Mussolini that in a war against France and England, the final decision depends largely on what happens in the Mediterranean. The Balearics are well fortified. Port Mahón is, by general agreement, one of the finest naval bases in the Mediterranean, and it remains under Italian domination. In *Deutsche Wehr*, the organ of the German army, the issue of January 19th, 1935, referred to the fortification of the Balearics, and said that it was wise, for as a result Spain might assume a more "beneficial" form of neutrality than during the World War, and by more beneficial was meant that the Balearics might be used as a submarine and aeroplane base for the destruction of French communications.

To return to Gibraltar. The Nazi writer on geo-politics, Hermann Gackenholz, states: "In a life and death struggle Italy will have to force a decision in the Straits of Gibraltar," and the German and Italian Admirals, after their manœuvres off the Spanish coasts in the summer of 1939 are reported to have reached the same conclusion. The important point is that to be fully successful Spain must be dragged in as a belligerent or as a highly active neutral obeying Rome and Berlin, which might be even more dangerous. We know what Italian "non-belligerency" has proved to be, and Spanish might be even more harmful, because of the great power of German influence in Spain.

SOVIET NEUTRALITY

by K. GOFMAN

From "Krasnaya Zvezda," Moscow

Here is an authentic and typical expression of the official Soviet Russian standpoint, from the organ of the Red Army

THE essence of the Soviet policy of neutrality consists in this, that the U.S.S.R. pursues its own policy, answering to its own interests and coinciding with the fundamental interests of the greatest mass of working people throughout the world. . . . A correct understanding of the rôle of the U.S.S.R. in present world conditions, and of the meaning of its policy of non-participation in the war of the European powers, has found its reflection in the striving of many countries to strengthen their relations with the Soviet Union. These strivings in their turn find an echo in the wishes of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., whose interests do not menace those of other states.

In its foreign policy the Soviet Union relies only on its own forces, on the growing defensive strength of a Socialist Power, on its vast economic resources and advanced technique, and on the Red Army, Air Fleet and Navy. . . .

The outcome of the war in Finland has obliged some in the Anglo-French camp to meditate as to the correctness of the policy pursued by Britain and France towards the Soviet Union from the outbreak of war. The victorious operations of the Red Army on the Karelian Isthmus, the smashing of the Mannerheim Line and the subsequent conclusion of the Soviet-Finnish Peace Treaty destroyed the plans for extending the war on the North-Western frontiers of the U.S.S.R. At the same time they brought out all the perils for the Anglo-French bloc of the idea, advocated by some of its leaders, of simultaneously prosecuting two wars—against the U.S.S.R. and against Germany.

In pushing the White Finns into an adventure, relying on the "impregnability" for the

Red Army of the modern fortifications constructed by Anglo-French and other experts on the Karelian Isthmus, and in affording the Mannerheim army wide military assistance, the leaders of the Anglo-French bloc made a severe miscalculation. As a result, the positions of the Anglo-French in North-Eastern Europe were weakened, while the security and power of the Soviet Union were reinforced. Subsequent events in Scandinavia proved that one of the results of the Allies' policy was also the weakening of their position in the struggle with Germany for predominance in the North Sea.

However, notwithstanding these facts, the idea of two wars—against the U.S.S.R. and against Germany—still has many supporters in the Anglo-French camp, particularly among the extreme reactionary elements of the imperialist bourgeoisie, who consider war against the U.S.S.R. to be the "pinnacle of sagacity" in policy. . . .

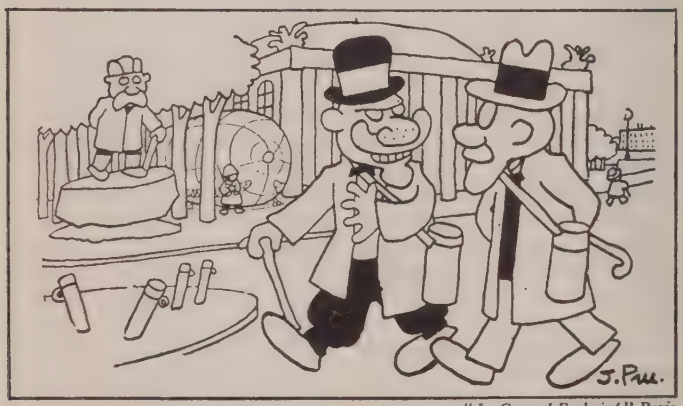
The masses in Britain and France insist that provocations to the Soviet Union should cease. They know that the U.S.S.R. has never committed any unfriendly acts in relation to the Western powers, and that it is invariably ready to maintain normal business relations with all capitalist states which are ready to resort to similar relations with the Soviet Union. The policy of strengthening its neutrality and security pursued by the U.S.S.R. in the conditions of widening war in Europe, only promotes the development of such relations.

The governing circles of the Western powers are obliged to reckon with the demand of the mass of the people for improved relations with the Soviet Union, all the more because it would be extremely dangerous to have the Soviet Union among their enemies. This gradually is becoming clear likewise to those elements, hostile to the U.S.S.R. and blinded by their hostility, who quite lately were still inclined to underestimate the strength of the Soviet Union's armed forces. The articles which have appeared lately in the *Times,* and thereafter in some other organs of the British and French Press, as to the first-class qualities of the Red

Army, of its strategy and tactics, which rendered possible a break through modern fortifications—which, by the way, has not yet been carried out by any other European army—bears witness to a certain revaluation of old values which is now going on.

The change of tone towards the U.S.S.R. which lately has been noticeable in individual statements by the Anglo-French Press is, of course, not yet a sign of the prevailing climate. These statements reflect the views only of those political observers who have not been deprived of the capacity to make a sober appraisal of facts by their class antagonism to the U.S.S.R. As before, one can find in the columns of the Anglo-French Press a sufficient quantity of hostile outbursts against the U.S.S.R., and the propaganda of the most fantastic plans of operations, directed not only against countries bordering on the U.S.S.R. but also directly against individual territories of the Soviet Union.

However the plans of the imperialists may turn in the future, the Soviet Union will go along its own road, defending the cause of peace and unswervingly pursuing its policy of neutrality.



"*Le Canard Enchainé*," *Paris*

"If there's an air raid, I'm going to take refuge under Clememceau's statue."

BOMBS *v.* BATTLESHIPS

American Expert Says Air Force Has Won

by MAJOR AL WILLIAMS

Aviation Editor, in the "New York World-Telegram"

Although his vehement conclusion would be hotly contested by naval experts, and his figures of British production and quality are quite out of date, this statement by one of America's leading flying men is at least interesting in that it shows what America is being told. Colonel Lindbergh is not alone

THE European war now has laid bare the strength of air power for all to see. Air power has changed all conceptions of warfare. We should thank God that the lesson is being learned with this country an observer, not a participant.

German air power has had the Allies on the defensive since the outset of this war. Warning that this would come to pass fell on deaf ears two years ago.

Year after year I have surveyed European air power to analyse its development. After my 1938 tour—during which I told the British that it would be fatal for them to tackle German air power—I tried to tell America that I had seen and flown German war planes forty to sixty miles an hour faster than the best we had and twenty to thirty miles an hour faster than those of the British.

I said we were behind in engines, particularly through lack of a streamlined, liquid-cooled engine comparable to the German Daimler-Benz DB-600 and the Junkers 211, which range up from 1,000 horse-power. The British, the French and the Italians also were ahead of us.

When I said that the Messerschmidt was good for between 355 and 360 miles an hour, technical America plus the army and navy scoffed. I knew, because I was the only American who had ever flown this particular ship.

I told America that Germany was building 600 finished aeroplanes a month in 1938, that the British were turning out about 200 and the French

seventy-five a month. I stated that this German total of 600 planes a month was being produced by workers on one shift of eight hours a day and could easily be boosted to 1,800 or 2,000 a month.

Preponderantly superior to Germany on the sea, the Allies were definitely inferior in the air. The British and the French were reporting for the war with the wrong tools. A few sinkings of warships by air bombs were enough to put sea power on the defensive and keep it there.

Norway was a sea theatre, desperate, well-nigh suicidal—a small-scale Gallipoli. But the British Admirals undertook to work in that theatre.

Attempting landing parties without complete control of the air over the combat zone was a disastrous and incredible error.

Germany's blitzkrieg in Poland was erroneously stressed by our military minds and those holding for the old ways as the exclusive work of the German army. That army did sweep through Poland, but not until German air power had moved ahead as a curtain of destruction and obliteration.

British sea power has failed. Guarded from the air, German army supplies have been transported across the Skagerrak since the campaign began. In a desperate effort to justify sea power, submarines, destroyers and light cruisers attempted to cut the German communication lines. On the strength of premature rumours of Skagerrak victories, the big navy forces in America, the Admirals, and Senators who have navy bases in their districts, began to pressure Congress for more and bigger warships. I pleaded for them to wait for the true story.

The British have learned that a 2,000-lb. bomb, carrying about three times more explosives than a sea mine or a torpedo warhead, can put a battleship out of commission and destroy and sink battle cruisers.

It appears that, for some reason best known to themselves, the Germans have been using detonation bombs, which explode on striking the armoured deck of a warship. This is not the most effective use of air bombs. The time bomb, exploded below the water's surface and in close

proximity to a battleship, brings greater results.

Secretary Edison's plan to reinforce our battleships to withstand damage to superstructures merely would add more weight for an already too heavy ship to lug through the water. It would be makeshift protection, since an aerial bomb at the waterline would do its job effectively.

In admitting that air power has a "temporary advantage" over the warship, Secretary Edison anticipates a forthcoming protection (more armour plating). It won't be sufficient, and the air power advantage is not temporary.

All the lessons learned at the expense of millions of dollars and thousands of lives could have been learned in test-tube fashion during the last twenty years if the governments of America, England and France had been able to control their respective Admirals and navy departments.

In 1919, if a single battleship or warship of any type had been turned over to the air forces of any of those countries for bombing operations, with all the hindrances and restrictions of naval experts removed, the world would have had the information it possesses to-day as to just what air power can do to sea power.

The Admirals have put off this showdown as long as they could, and now they have the answer at the expense of human life and empire prestige. Since air power offered the greatest threat ever presented to sea power, it was natural that the advocates of sea power fought air power's development with every means at their disposal.

Our leaders have failed to see the handwriting in the sky —and by leaders I mean the Admirals and Senators who are consistently promoting big business armament in the form of battleships, instead of effective war strength in the form of air power.

The most important lesson in the history of American national defence lies before us in the demonstration of air power in Europe. The cards are all out on the table now, and no matter what they do with battleships, sea power—in its present form—is through, washed up and finished.

THE HOUR OF DECISION

by COLONEL KNOX (Editor)

From the "Chicago Daily News," 21.5.40

A first-class sensation was caused when President Roosevelt brought into his Cabinet two Republican Party leaders—Colonel Knox, Editor of the "Chicago Daily News," as Secretary of the Navy, and Mr. Stimson as Secretary of War. It looked like a move towards a National Government and, perhaps, towards intervention in aid of Britain. Here we give two articles written by Colonel Knox a short time before he joined the Roosevelt Cabinet

THE primary duty of those charged with the conduct of our relations with the rest of the world is the protection, at whatever cost, of the vital interests of the United States.

If these vital interests can best be served by aloofness from any participation in the crucial struggle now in progress in Europe, then we should remain aloof and inactive.

If, however, our vital interests are involved and we will be critically and perhaps disastrously affected by a defeat of the Allies, and a victory for Germany, then indifference to the outcome and pursuit of a policy of rigid isolation not only is cowardly and despicable, but is as well a betrayal of our vital interests.

There are those, among them the editor of this newspaper, who hold that the future of Western civilisation is being decided upon the battlefields of France and Belgium. In the words of William Allen White, a great American and a sterling patriot:

> "Here is a life and death struggle for every principle we cherish in America, for freedom of speech, of religion, of the ballot and of every freedom that upholds the dignity of the human spirit.
>
> "Here all the rights that the common man has fought for during a thousand years are menaced."

As day follows day in the poignant tale that is being

written in blood and tears by the men, women and children who are driven before the relentless onrush of the Nazi Moloch, it becomes crystal clear that the odds favour a triumph for ruthlessness, for bestial hate, for human bondage, for savage, dictatorial rule of all Europe by one man, who—with good reason—hates the United States and everything it stands for.

It would be a wicked form of self-delusion to affect to believe that the Allies are sure to win in the long run, and that we can, therefore, pursue our own affairs in peace, and let Europe take care of itself.

We cannot, with a proper regard for the safety and security of the American people and the protection of our vital interests, shrink from decision. England did that for years and last Sunday the whole world listened to the British premier tell his people to prepare for a death struggle against a foe that outnumbered the British air fleet three to one!

The time has come when we must throw into the scales the entire moral and economic weight of the United States on the side of the free peoples of Western Europe who are fighting the battle for a civilised way of life.

This is no time to count the cost. Be sure that it will be infinitely less than we will be called upon to pay if we have to face alone a triumphant Germany.

And along with the moral and economic support we may give to the Allies must go a swift preparation for whatever the future may hold for us, knowing that if Hitler wins, we shall maintain ourselves, and our freedoms, only if we are armed to the teeth.

Again we quote the wise, kindly, peace-loving sage of Emporia:

> "This is no time for leaders to consider party or factional advantage. All men and all creeds and clans may well call upon our President to confer with leaders of all parties looking to a foreign policy providing for an increase in armaments to defend ourselves and for every economic effort to help the Allies.
>
> "In foreign affairs we must present an unbroken non-partisan front to the

world. It is for us to show the people of England, of France, of Belgium and Scandinavia that the richest country on earth is not too blind or too timid to help those who are fighting tyranny abroad."

GIVE US THE WHOLE TRUTH!

by COLONEL KNOX

From the "Chicago Daily News," 28.5.40

We are looking, to-day, upon the threatened collapse of European civilisation.

It is literally impossible to exaggerate the seriousness of the Allied situation produced by the unconditional surrender of King Leopold's army in Belgium, which leaves the left wing of the French and British Army in Flanders open to the swift onslaught of Hitler's tanks, armoured cars and bombers.

News of the utter destruction or the surrender of the encircled armies, betrayed by the treachery of a weak king-commander, and cut off from supplies of ammunition and food, cannot be long delayed.

When that hour strikes—and nothing but a miracle can prevent it—only a cowardly shrinking from facing the truth, a weak and imbecile refusal to confront stark reality would explain, but not condone, a failure of the leadership of America to tell the American people that a fearfully grave decision must be made:

Can the Allies win without our aid?

If we become convinced that France and Britain will be defeated without our assistance, are we going to help them, or are we to stand by and permit Germany to become dominant on both land and sea in Europe?

The President owes it to the people who have given him leadership, in the gravest crisis we have faced in our entire history, to tell his people the whole truth of this situation.

He was among the first Americans to foresee the dangers to us of the Nazi bid for world domination through

the defeat of Britain and France and the break-up of the British and French empires.

It is not sufficient that the President wait for a public opinion on this vital question to develop, and then become the spokesman of that opinion. His is the understanding knowledge, his the sources of information, his the responsibility for decision, and upon his shoulders also rests the responsibility for leadership.

This is no time to think of political consequences. It would be a betrayal of the public to let personal likes and dislikes determine policy. The complexion of the administration that takes over in January next year is a matter of supreme indifference when the security of our people and our institutions hangs in the balance right now!

NO JITTERS IN THE COUNTRY

From the Richmond (Va) "Times-Dispatch," U.S.A.

If you want to find people excited, you must go to town. Where people live thickest, emotion is quickest.

New York City is the solar plexus of American emotion. There hysteria is always trembling just beneath the surface of things. There people are ready to shower ticker tape, symbol of their adulation, upon some mushroom hero of to-day, and their shrill and jittery rage on him to-morrow.

It is characteristic of mass emotion that it wants to be part of every procession. New York hears of fifth-column danger and instantly its imagination conjures up a fifth column of its own. The wonder is that it has not enjoyed a black-out, and I do not doubt that it will soon be organising defence against parachute attack.

In the open spaces, where neighbours are far away, people live more serene, calmer lives. They have themselves more securely on the handle. Orson Welles cannot drive them into a panic over the danger of an invasion from Mars.

It is not merely by chance that the men who have led this country in the hours of its

greatest peril have been country born and bred. Washington, Lee and Lincoln were country bred. Their nervous systems had not endured the constant impact of excitement. You can't rear men like Washington in an incubator.

Country folk do not live in a state of crisis. They are such

"St. Louis Post-Dispatch," U.S.A.

DECORATION DAY IN AMERICAN CEMETERY IN FRANCE

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as sleep o' nights. They refuse to be stampeded. Dorothy Thompson recently suggested that we were in such a critical condition because there is a war in Europe, where there has been almost constant war since long before Columbus stumbled on America, that the Republican party should nominate Mr. Roosevelt, should fold up, should lie down and play dead. That motion of emotion will not get a single second in the rural regions.

Here in rural Virginia, where a Republican is elected once in a blue moon, the suggestion to the Republican that he should vote the Democratic ticket because some foreign people are engaged in a fight will make him laugh.

He is not a bit concerned about foreigners and their fights. He has not lived his life on the edge of hysterics. He was a Republican before those foreigners got up their war, and he expects to be a Republican after they get tired of fighting.

The hope of this country is in those who sleep o' nights and who have not been debauched by emotional overstimulation. The countryman is not sitting up with a sick world. He has other saner and pleasanter things to be about.

If he gets excited, it is going to be about something which is his own business.

IT'S NOT SO BAD, FOLKS!

The war is in Europe, not here. But since the start of the blitzkrieg, New York stocks have fallen twenty-three per cent on the average. London stocks meanwhile have dropped only ten per cent.

Diving planes and tanks are said to threaten the destruction of France. But French bonds are selling in New York at a premium of $50 per $1,000 above par.

In the first twenty days of this month 7,880 new automobiles were sold in Cook County—the most for any comparable period since 1937.

Maybe we are all more dejected than the facts justify.—*From the "Chicago Daily Tribune."*

AMERICA RE-ARMS IN ALARM

British and French Possessions Should Be Bought

From the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch," 16.5.40

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has the nation behind him in asking Congress for an increase of approximately a billion dollars in the appropriation for national defence. We must provide ourselves with the means to maintain our national respect in a world that acknowledges no code but the code of force.

Pacifism has no place in a nation which is committed to the protection of a rich hemisphere against the attacks of the most powerful militarists the modern world has seen. The wreckage of a half-dozen nations in Europe is eloquent warning that the sanctions of civilisation are no safeguard in this age.

Neither, under conditions of modern warfare, are the Atlantic and Pacific oceans adequate protection. Alaska is a stone's throw from Russia; the Philippines lie beyond Japan; that part of South America below the Amazon is nearer to Europe and Northern Africa than to the continental United States.

We are too proud to modify the Monroe Doctrine even if this could be shown to be a sound defence policy. So we must prepare to defend it against every eventuality, including a possible Allied defeat.

The strain on our national finances, even on our form of government, is not to be blinked. Whereas we have been spending about two per cent of our national income on defence, we will now be arming for defence against Powers which have been spending from thirty to sixty per cent of their national income for this purpose.

It is not generally recognised how backward America is in armaments compared with

leading European and Asiatic Powers. For example, the total trained and partly trained military man-power of the United States is estimated at 607,000—only half the army strength of even such third-rate European Powers as Rumania and Yugoslavia.

Nor is our equipment either adequate or up to date. Aside from aviation, we have almost no munitions industry. There is a time-lag of from one and a half to two and a half years between congressional appropriations and actual delivery of supplies.

The U.S. Air Force

Our air force consists of 2,800 planes of all classes, most of them outmoded by comparison with the best planes in use in the European war. There are experts who insist that even our new planes are inferior to those produced in Britain and France, which in turn are inferior to those being turned out—at the rate of 2,300 a month—by Germany.

The task of arming against the dictators challenges the physical and mental energies of America. We must recognise the revolution which Germany and Italy have worked in the technology of warfare and not make the mistake of the British in maintaining a phlegmatic trust in battleships as opposed to aeroplanes.

There seems to be little question but that money can be expended most effectively for the present upon aircraft, aircraft carriers and anti-aircraft guns. These are the weapons by which we can prevent the landing of troops in force anywhere in this hemisphere. . . .

In recent years, we have stored 18 billion dollars of idle gold in a hole in the Kentucky hills, blissfully ignoring the necessity of accumulating stores of strategic war materials. It is high time to spend a few hundred millions of this idle gold to acquire reserves of manganese, rubber, tin, vanadium, antimony, chromium, mercury, and other critical materials in which we are either deficient or wholly lacking.

The time to prepare is now. It is the only way to be protected against unthinkable humiliations in case the British and French meet defeat.

The British Bases

The German conquest of the Netherlands again reminds us that, theoretically at least, Europe's latest war might be fought in our front yard. The Dutch, as well as the English and the French, have colonial possessions in the Caribbean—almost at the threshold of the Panama Canal.

These European outposts stretch in a great arch from Florida to the mouth of the Orinoco in South America. There are literally hundreds of islands, many of them little more than wind-blown, surf-beaten hummocks of sand to worry mariners. The larger ones produce sugar and other semi-tropical products and, perhaps most important of all, tourist attractions.

Most of them are under the Union Jack. Bermuda, the Bahamas, the Leeward and the Windward Islands, Jamaica and Trinidad are all British. But the French flag flies over Martinique, Guadeloupe, Grande Terre and some lesser islands, while the Dutch hold such important possessions as Curacao and Aruba. All three Powers, of course, have a foothold on the South American mainland in the Guianas.

These possessions have never been of more than relatively slight value to their home countries, and there is no reason now to fear that they will become the scenes of serious military or naval activities. However, since they command virtually every approach to the Canal and to our own Southern ports, they have always had a certain nuisance value to the United States.

Should Hitler, peradventure, have his way in Europe, they might quickly become much more than a nuisance to us. They might give him his first foothold in this hemisphere and bring an unwelcome neighbour to our front door.

These territories came under the heading of "existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power" for which the Monroe Doctrine made special exception when it was enunciated in 1823. But their acquisition by any other non-American nation obviously would be forbidden by that section of the Monroe Doctrine which warns ambitious European Powers that "we

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should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

Buy the Bases

Yet there is an obvious means available for avoiding the difficulty even before it materialises. We can enter into negotiations for the purchase of these foreign possessions, especially those in the West Indies, just as we purchased the Virgin Islands from the Danes. These outposts of the European empires are even more important to us now than were the Danish possessions, as outer defences of the Canal.

England and France might well find it the course of high diplomacy to cede us their islands in payment of the debt incurred by them during the last war.

From the viewpoint of strengthening our Canal defences and removing a possible source of international friction, there cannot be the least question about the wisdom of running up the American flag in the West Indies.

"Dublin Opinion"

"Dammit, Throttlebury, now will you believe Hitler is staking all on the element of surprise?"

Extending American sovereignty to the South American mainland is another matter. However, British, French and Dutch Guiana are as great a potential menace to hemispheric security as any of the Caribbean islands. It would seem, therefore, that neighbouring Brazil and Venezuela might find it expedient to acquire them, and perhaps some of the islands immediately adjacent to their coasts, by purchase. They could take no more effective steps towards making the Western world an American world.

EMPIRE BY PURCHASE

The U.S.A.'s Bargains

From the "Japan Chronicle," Tokyo

THE United States has managed in the past to strike some excellent bargains in land purchases. What, for instance, is the financial increment on the purchase of French territories in North America from Napoleon in 1803? Commonly called the Louisiana purchase, the Washington Government bought very much more than Louisiana. The territory obtained from Napoleon covered a vast tract from New Orleans in the south to the British possessions in the north, and from the Mississippi in the east to the Rocky Mountains in the west. For this magnificent acquisition the United States paid $15,000,000, a sum which may have seemed substantial enough in 1803, but which turned out to be a mere bagatelle. Then, in the 1840's, after the Mexican War, the United States acquired New Mexico and California for another $15,000,000, hardly enough nowadays to pay studio ground rent in Hollywood. Next, in 1867, Alaska came into the market, Russia disposing of its title for £1,450,000. The purchase of Alaska was as good a bit of business as the United States has ever done, for out of this profitable territory has been taken about $500,000,000 worth of gold, $200,000,000 worth of copper,

$100,000,000 worth of furs and $1,000,000,000 worth of fish. Greenland to-day looks about as inviting as Alaska did in 1867.

Prices went up after the Alaska purchase, however, so that when the United States decided to look after the Philippines after winning possession of them in war, it cost the U.S. Treasury $20,000,000 to secure formal Spanish cession of the islands. Last purchase was of the Virgin Islands, bought from Denmark in 1917, a small group whose three main islands have an area of only 133 square miles and a steadily decreasing population which to-day is only approximately 20,000. For these islands the United States had to pay $25,000,000, and has annually had to make good a 25 per cent deficit in local administrative expenses.

But the Virgin Islands are a single exception in the bargain list. On the whole the United States has done handsomely out of its purchases.

"Going down?"

"Le Canard Enchainé," Paris

MUST AMERICA FIGHT JAPAN

Admiral Thinks It Inevitable

The following is the Japanese Domei Agency report of the statement by Rear-Admiral Taussig which caused something of a sensation in America and Japan, although the Admiral immediately hastened to assure the public that he had not meant anything so drastic

REAR-ADMIRAL Joseph K. Taussig, former assistant chief of naval operations, testifying before the Senate Naval Affairs Committee, advocated the construction of an "impregnable" base in the Philippines and at Guam and the continued building of super-warships in view of the trend of developments in the Far East indicating that a Japanese-American war is inevitable.

"Japan is seeking to impose her culture over the whole world by force," Rear-Admiral Taussig, now commandant of the 5th Naval District at Norfolk, Virginia, charged, adding that even if Japan conquered China, she would still lack such essential war materials as oil, rubber and tin, and must seek expansion in the Dutch East Indies and also the Philippines.

"Present Far Eastern developments are definitely threatening our national interest," he said. "We need a stable and independent China—I don't see how we can escape being forced into an eventual war in the Far East."

He went on to say: "We cannot invade Japan and Japan cannot invade the United States: however, Japan would try to invade the Philippines. The United States should not be placed in a position of having to carry on single-handed against Japan. We should conclude agreements with France, England and the Netherlands to give assistance, whereby United States warships could use their naval bases in the Pacific." Rear-Admiral Taussig emphasised that his testimony was only a personal opinion.

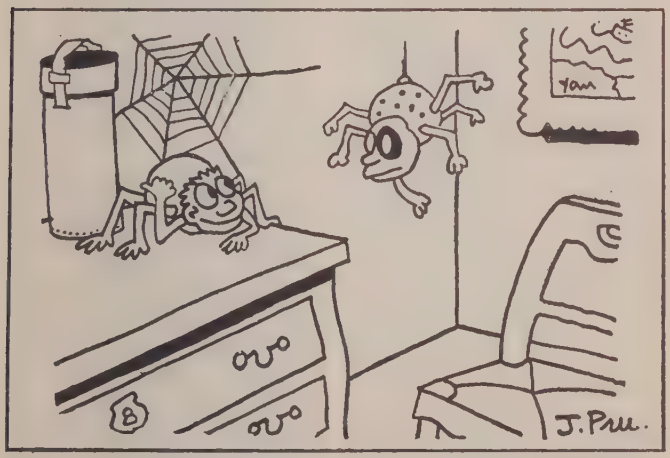
Meanwhile, another witness, Major Joseph Elliot, retired army major, declared that an alliance with Great Britain,

France and Holland in the Pacific would be useless. He suggested that the United States should conclude an agreement with Australia for military action in the Far East.

Statement Repudiated

In wake of the sensational statement of Rear-Admiral Joseph K. Taussig, the Navy Department has issued a statement reiterating that the testimony of the Rear-Admiral does not in any way reflect the opinion or policy of the Navy Department.

Preparedness measures which the Navy recommends are not directed against any one country, but are dictated by necessity of maintaining the *status quo* of the U.S. Navy's strength as against all foreign navies, states the Navy Department.



"Le Canard Enchainé," Paris

"Have you got a peaceful spot?"
"Yes: in the gas mask."

THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

A Bone of Contention

From the "Yomiuri," Tokyo

FOLLOWING Mr. Arita's statement evincing concern over any development which may lead to any change in the *status quo* of the Netherlands East Indies, Mr. Hull, the American State Secretary, issued a similar statement. So far as outward appearances go, the N.E.I. problem seems to have been disposed of by this mutual expression of concern by the Japanese and American Governments, but the fact that they are so deeply interested in those islands appears to indicate that the N.E.I. problem will some day figure as another issue for settlement between the two countries. No one can gainsay that the time may come when this problem will furnish the direct cause of a serious conflict between Japan and America in the Pacific.

In the last session of the Diet, Mr. Arita, the Foreign Minister, in reply to an interpellation, stated that efforts must be made to prevent a further deterioration of relations with America, and it is certain that Japan's policy towards America is being shaped along these lines. The Japanese Government is endeavouring to settle American claims for damages inflicted upon her rights and interests in China during the Japanese military operations, and settlement has already been reached in many cases. The Yangtze and the Pearl Rivers have also been partially opened and preparations are actually being made to open the Yangtze below Nanking.

On the other hand, America's attitude towards Japan remains as hostile as ever. Although she has not yet gone the length of prohibiting exports to this country, she is trying to bring pressure to bear on Japan in a variety of ways. For instance, America granted a $25,000,000 loan to the Chiang Kai-shek Government towards the close of 1938, to supply it with arms, ammunition, aeroplanes and military motor-cars. In August last year she signed a contract

for the purchase of Chinese silver amounting to $2,000,000, and on February 23rd a new loan amounting to $20,000,000 for the Chungking Government was decided upon. It is America's Far Eastern policy to strengthen the Chiang Kai-shek Administration's power of resistance against Japan so that the latter may become exhausted economically.

Mr. Hull's Abuse

On March 30th Mr. Hull, the American Secretary of State, issued a statement recording America's repudiation of the new National Government of China. He abused the new Government to the world on behalf of the Chungking Administration. Just at the time when the contents of this Hull statement were wired to Japan, Mr. Arita was attending a welcome dinner given in his honour at the Hotel New Osaka, and in the course of his speech on that occasion he said that there was no warrant for much anxiety over America's attitude. He advised the nation to maintain a collected and prudent attitude even though Japan-American relations might become worse.

It is conceivable that America would have preferred joint renunciation of the new National Government of China by the signatories of the Nine Power Treaty, but that as the other Powers concerned were not disposed to follow the American lead in the matter, she was obliged to issue that statement independently.

Naval Challenge

America has carried out challenging naval manœuvres in the Pacific and she has embarked upon a gigantic naval expansion plan. In this connection it is worthy of special note that America is trying to prevent an Anglo-Japanese *rapprochement*. Since the outbreak of the European war Britain has developed a strong disposition to keep on good terms with Japan in the Far East. She is desirous of Japan's co-operation in her policy of blockade against Germany, and is anxious to cultivate friendlier relations with this country in order to restrain an enigmatic country whose designs on India she dreads.

At the same time, Britain is chary of wounding the sus-

ceptibilities of America, who is strongly hostile to Japan. She is rather vexed by this strong American attitude towards Japan. America, on her part, is highly dissatisfied with Britain's disposition to improve relations with this country. It was America who first made a fuss over Sir Robert Craigie's recent speech in Tokyo as a friendly gesture on Britain's part notwithstanding the fact that in Japan his speech excited little interest. For Britain, America's aid is absolutely necessary, so that she is more anxious to retain American friendship than to enlist Japan's co-operation. She cannot buy Japan's co-operation at the cost of American friendship. From this point of view, it may well be said that it is America who is disturbing Anglo-Japanese relations.

Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

"My husband is too indiscreet."

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

RED RUSSIA

THE RED ARMY. By Erich Wollenberg. *Secker & Warburg.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

STALIN. By Eugene Lyons. *Harrap.* 9*s.*

THE RUSSIAN ENIGMA. By Anton Ciliga. *Routledge.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by OLIVER WARNER

ONE of the clearest facts in the world is that Russia is too big. She is so big that in trying to understand her the student has a choice : he may see the wood or the trees, but not both. If he chooses the wood, his view will be so general as to comprise the merest outline, and clouded at that. If he chooses trees, he may find them either stunted, or so entangled with their fellows that their branches can be followed only with patience and an unblinking eye.

In the nebulous Russian wood there is colour, though the choice is of reds or dusty greys. The army, which provides something of both tints, permeates the entire landscape. Erich Wollenberg, who writes as a military expert, and has a personal record of fifteen years service, gives a comprehensive and largely historical survey of its growth and achievements, particularly during its formative periods. His accounts of the campaigns from 1917 to 1921 are specially valuable, as is his emphasis on the true weight and purpose of the Hitler-Stalin pact. Given time, the possibilities of such an alliance are literally incalculable. Unfortunately the book was written before the Finnish campaign had run its course, and no conclusions drawn from

An invaluable reference book for politicians, economists, business men, and all concerned with international finance and affairs.

STATESMAN'S YEAR-BOOK 1940

Edited by
M. EPSTEIN, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.G.S

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MACMILLAN

it are therefore formulated. Soldiers will probably note with horror the powers (tabulated in an appendix) which are exercised by the political commissars attached to every Russian regiment. They will conclude that one of the first moves made by a German military reorganisation would be the effective side-tracking of such officials. No regiment can fight as it should under two commanding officers.

Turning from mass to individual red, Eugene Lyons contributes to the picture of Stalin, whom he styles Czar of all the Russias. His book, though written with spirit, does not pretend to the fullness with which Boris Souvarine has already limned the tyrant; while in some respects Stephen Graham's much earlier study is more helpful to the understanding of the man, as opposed to the Party secretary. Stalin, the cost of whose "achievement of personal power," as Mr. Lyons remarks, "exceeds anything paid by the human race to other conquerors"—or did, until the advent of Hitler's total war—owes the world much, since no potentate of whom history has any record is as a personality so uninspiring to mankind. Having followed every tortuous movement by which he has "waded in slaughter to a throne"—and a throne by any other name may stink as bad—it is hard to set aside Mr. Lyons' verdict that Stalin's is the supreme triumph of mediocrity. It is just one more facet of Russia's horror, though an important one. Those simple-minded Indians of Orissa who were reputed to cast themselves to death before the juggernaut car did at least believe that they were perishing before a god; but to die in a Russian prison-camp by Stalin's orders is indeed to go from dust to dust—without even the panoply of death.

Anton Caliga has not been able to avoid the word "enigma" in his title. "Ten Years in the Country of the Great Lie" is his description of his personal experiences. A Yugo-Slavian Communist, he went to Russia in 1926 to study the revolution at first hand. He was less lucky—and more persistent—in this dangerous pursuit than many sympathetic visitors. He remained nine years in the country, the last five being in

prisons and concentration camps. His account adds detail to the now overwhelming literature of the undergrowth of the Russian wood. Making the mistake of airing his opinions, and sticking to a reasoned point of view, he was lucky, and happy, to leave the country, though rich, he confesses, in experience and emotion.

A reading of these three books, each of which, so far as information is concerned, is of some value, adds to the impression that Russia is now a blend of meaningless ideology and temporal misery, occasionally capable of startling progress. She is chiefly impeded by a handful of leaders with an insatiable lust for power. Their victims are men and women, and in order to gratify purely personal aspirations they are prepared to wreck not merely all that better men have patiently built up, but to leave the fires of the wreckage to spread and multiply. It is not a pretty picture.

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THE YEAR OF REVOLUTION

1848: CHAPTERS OF GERMAN HISTORY. By Veit Valentin. Translated by Ethel Talbot Scheffauer. London, *Allen & Unwin Ltd.* 12*s.* 6*d. net.*

Reviewed by D. M. Low

THE year 1848 still stands out as "The Year of Revolutions." In France, in Germany and Austria, in Italy and elsewhere there were popular risings impelled in varying proportions by the forces of liberalism, constitutionalism, industrial progress and nationalism. Though these risings mostly proved abortive, they marked a turning-point in European affairs, and the year remains a fateful one for us who are where we are, well worth the elaborate study which Mr. Valentin has devoted to it.

"The pettiness of petty states was Germany's real historical

destiny in the nineteenth century." The author, whose faith in democracy is undefeated, develops this theme at great length, leading up to the inevitability of a national movement. He describes the Austrian empire under Metternich's long regime, and minutely analyses the contrasting idiosyncrasies of the thirty-six German states.

The mass of detail might have been thinned out. English readers will not be much interested in the many sketches of minor politicians. But the portraits of Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia and Ludwig of Bavaria are vivid. The growth of Berlin within its mutually exclusive quarters is a significant story balanced by the ripe traditional life of cities like Hamburg and Frankfort. An important chapter discusses the Germany implicit throughout these diverse societies. It is indeed remarkable that the golden age of German literature, still unsurpassed, had occurred at a time when there was no political life. Through a realisation of the unity and greatness of their culture men of the most divergent outlooks aspired to the establishment of a German national state.

The story of the revolutions is necessarily intricate. The focal points are Prussia and Austria. Stimulated by the February rising in Paris, the Viennese overthrew Metternich with ease. Then the constitutional cause was wrecked by racial jealousy. In Germany the tragedy of liberalism was that noble enthusiasms were not tempered by political astuteness. No leader emerged. A vacillating king allowed "his dear Berliners" to be involved in bitter street fighting and the military party to be humiliated. By November it had triumphed without further bloodshed. It was only then that Friedrich Wilhelm was offered the imperial crown by the Frankfort Parliament. He refused it at such democratic hands, and the Prussian army stamped out the revolutions in Baden, Saxony and Bavaria. The people were left with a political inferiority complex which has never been lost. Franz Josef was placed on his throne, and the road lay open for Bismarck.

Mr. Valentin draws his outlines firmly, but again overloads them with detail, often

picturesque enough. He concludes with a valuable review of the causes and consequences of failure, and of the gains achieved in spite of all. He has some interesting remarks about the position of women. Although he realises the clock cannot be put back, he is convinced that the ideals of 1848 will yet be of value to Germany.

SERIAL MAP SERVICE

THE Serial Map Service is published monthly by the Phœnix Book Company. It consists of at least four sheets of maps of theatres of the war, printed by Philips, accompanied by four double pages of geographical, historical and political information. The text is edited by Gordon Godfrey and the maps by George Goodhall. The present (June) number has maps of Norway, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg, and the Mediterranean area. There is an article on "The Battle for Iron Ore," by J. M. Kupifer, and A. C. F. Beales, member of the Council of the Historical Association, writes on "The Mediterranean in History"; L. B. Cundall, M.Sc., has an article on "The Balance of Power in the Mediterranean." The sheets and maps are pierced and numbered for collection into one volume; apart from their present usefulness, they will make a valuable historical record of the war month by month. A year's subscription costs 18s. 6d.

CORRESPONDENCE

ENCOURAGEMENT FROM AMERICA

MY DEAR MR. BARTLETT,

I do no know how to express the concern we feel in America for Britain and France in this terrible hour. Knowing, however, from our own impulses how the good Anglo-Saxon blood rallies in stern resolution when its back is to the wall, we still have the utmost confidence that Britain and France will stop Hitler in ample time to save democracy in Europe.

I wrote you last September that we'd be in within twelve months. We are already in with everything but men, and they will go if needs must. We are getting hotter every hour, and no power on earth can hold us back for long. Six months ago the Republicans would have beaten Roosevelt hands down; now they couldn't mark the boards. A Democrat with an unbroken party record from father to son since the Revolutionary War, I have fought Roosevelt's domestic policies and would have voted against him for a third term; and, while his foreign policy isn't as forthright as I'd like it to be, I am for him, since it would never do to take any chances at this time.

We are in a bad way ourselves in the way of mechanised arms, etc., although we invented all or most of the great engines of destruction such as the submarine, the airplane, the machine-gun, etc. Like Britain, we have sat down and let the damn Hun-descended Hitler develop them. Wright flew the first plane on our coast when I was at the University of North Carolina, and I saw it a few days afterwards; it was not far from my home. I think, however, we are making as good as they come here in this country. And Henry Ford says give him six months and a free hand, and he'll produce 1,000 planes a day — and Henry can do that very thing.

With the firm belief that Britain and France will destroy Hitlerism — and Mussolini's Fascism too, if necessary—and the utmost faith in the Anglo-Saxon resolution and power to do the job.

Sincerely,

ERNEST M. GREEN,
President,
North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati.

Raleigh, North Carolina.